



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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16 June 1992

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CONTENTS

16 June 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Burundi

Sibomana, Rwandan Counterpart on Security Agreement *[Paris International]* 1

Congo

Kombo Expects 21 Jun Elections To Go Ahead *[Paris International]* 1
 Opposition Criticism *[AFP]* 2

Gabon

Bongo on Canada Visit, Participation in Summit *[Libreville Radio]* 2

EAST AFRICA

Ethiopia

Eritrean Government Council Names Members *[Asmera Radio]* 3
 Foreign Observers Sent To Supervise Elections *[Addis Ababa International]* 3

Kenya

Commonwealth Group Arrives, Submits Memorandum *[Nairobi TV]* 3

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Workers Stay Away as ANC Launches Mass Action *[SAPA]* 4
 Mandela Unveils Memorial *[SAPA]* 4
 ANC-SACP Supporters Disarmed *[Johannesburg Radio]* 5
 ANC, Government Wage 'War of Words' at Codesa *[SAPA]* 5
 De Klerk Regrets ANC's 'Aggressive Tone' *[SAPA]* 6
 Minister Says Security Forces Ready for Anything *[SAPA]* 6
 Defense Minister Condemns 'Confrontation Politics' *[SAPA]* 7
 NP Says ANC 'Afraid of Democratic Process' *[SAPA]* 7
 Deadlock Part of ANC Plan *[SAPA]* 8
 Treurnicht Warns ANC 'Playing With Fire' *[SAPA]* 8
 DP Fears Majority Intimidated in Mass Action *[SAPA]* 8
 ANC Urges Defiance of Citizen Force Call-Up *[SAPA]* 8
 Further on Police Seizure of Weapons in Soweto 9
 ANC Reacts *[SAPA]* 9
 Inkatha Spokesman Comments *[London International]* 9
 Inkatha Press Statement *[SAPA]* 10
 Shields, Sticks Returned *[Johannesburg TV]* 10
 Police Keep Firearms, Knives *[SAPA]* 11
 SADF Claims ANC Plans Confrontation in Imbali *[SAPA]* 11
 Bill Seeks To Curb Intimidation, Speed Up Trials *[Johannesburg Radio]* 12
 Opposition MP's Urge Redrafting of Defense Bill *[Johannesburg TV]* 12
 AZAPO 'Aiming for Power' in First General Vote *[THE STAR 15 Jun]* 12
 SACP's Hani Discusses 'Repression' at ANC Camps *[WORK IN PROGRESS Jun]* 12
 Government Seeks 'Deadlock, Delay' at Codesa *[WORK IN PROGRESS Jun]* 15

16 Jun Press Review on Current Events, Issues [THE CITIZEN 16 Jun, etc.]	17
* Role, Objectives of Private Armies Surveyed [BEELD 1 May]	17
* Afrikaans, Others Proposed Official Languages [BEELD 8 May]	19

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Three UNITA Dissidents Return to Luanda [Luanda Radio]	21
'Expanded' UNITA Meeting Urged [Luanda Radio]	21
Pena Denies Request [Luanda Radio]	22
Puna, Fernandes News Conference [Luanda Radio]	22
UNITA's Ben-Ben on FALA-FAPLA Meeting [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	23
UNITA Official Criticizes Minister Kassoma [Luanda Radio]	24
Kassoma Reacts [Luanda Radio]	25
FNLA Official Denies Accord on Coalition [Luanda Radio]	25
Commentary Says MPLA 'Afraid of Elections' [Voice of the Black Cockerel]	26
* EEC Development Projects in Huila Noted [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 8 May]	26
* France To Supply New Forces With Mirages [Lisbon O JORNAL 8 May]	27
* Van Dunem Discusses Elections, UNITA [Lisbon O JORNAL 8 May]	27
* Van Dunem on Aspects of Foreign Relations [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 9 May]	29
* Petroleum Cooperation With Portugal Increases	30
* Petrogal's Presence [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 12 May]	30
* Joint Venture	31
* Foreign Investment Figures, Targets Mentioned [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 13 May]	31
* Industrial Restructuring Progress Reported [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 13 May]	32
* Puna's Letter Planning Assassinations Published [Lisbon O INDEPENDENTE 15 May]	33
* Housing Secretary Comments on Sector [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 19 May]	34
* Socioeconomic Plight of Kwanza Norte Viewed [JORNAL DE ANGOLA 19 May]	35

Namibia

Iranian Vice President, Delegation Arrive [Tehran Radio]	36
--	----

Zimbabwe

Government To Continue Economic Reform Program [SAPA]	36
---	----

WEST AFRICA

Burkina Faso

Compaore Issues Decree To Dissolve Government [Ouagadougou Radio]	38
---	----

Ghana

Rawlings Receives Sudanese Official, Message [Accra Radio]	38
--	----

Ivory Coast

Deputies Brief Press on Meeting With President [FRATERNITE MATIN 12 Jun]	38
PDCI Said Preparing Welcome for President [LA VOIE 15 Jun]	39

Liberia

ECOMOG, NPFL Meet; Taylor Vows Cooperation [Monrovia Radio]	39
---	----

Nigeria

Strasser Calls For Increased Bilateral Ties [Lagos Radio]	39
---	----

Sierra Leone

Rebel Attacks Continue in Southeastern Region [London International]	40
--	----

Togo

Chairman of Opposition Party Kidnapped [Lome Radio]	40
Denial of Incident [Lome Radio]	40

Burundi

Sibomana, Rwandan Counterpart on Security Agreement
LD1506215292 Paris Radio France International
in French 1830 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] The Rwanda and Burundi prime ministers today signed an agreement in Bujumbura on the mutual security of the two countries. Assane Diop first asked Rwanda Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye if these agreements meant the Palipehutu [Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People] armed opposition will be neutralized:

[Begin recording] [Nsengiyaremye] We have taken and will continue to take measures against all armed opposition which would like to base itself in or use Rwandan territory, and Burundi citizens living in Rwanda must respect their refugee status, to which they have a right. We do not recognize the Palipehutu, and consequently we cannot allow it to use our territory for political ends. If the Palipehutu wants to send a political message, let it go to Burundi. There is a democratic system there. Let it create a party and take part in the democratic system to gain power.

[Diop] One important thing, Mr. Prime Minister: During your visit to Bujumbura you have met Rwandan refugees. Was this for the first time?

[Nsengiyaremye] There is a very important point in the government's program which is aimed at definitively settling the problem of Rwandan refugees, and this was the first contact with some of the Rwandan refugees to inform them of the approach that we intend to pursue to solve this problem and also to listen to them and exchange points of view.

[Diop] After what you told them, do some of them now favor a return to Rwanda?

[Nsengiyaremye] I think that these refugees should quickly lose their status of refugees, and all those that I met were very touched, and were ready to prepare themselves for a return to their country. [end recording]

That was Dismas Nsengiyaremye, the Rwandan prime minister. Let us now listen to Burundi Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana. Assane Diop asked him how the security agreements that have just been signed will be put into practice:

[Begin recording] [Sibomana] On the practical front, this is quite simple. We have even already begun. It is a question of moving the refugees away from the borders, and also of solving the refugee problem, because this is essentially what is behind all our problems. Finally, in the case of certain refugees who would like to use our territory as a refuge from which they can destabilize the other country, it is a question of applying the law.

[Diop] You have stressed the issue of the democratization of the two countries and have underlined that these

agreements on border security are very important. What are prospects for the evolution of this democracy?

[Sibomana] Naturally democracy cannot be built without peace. That is the aspect that we have stressed, which ensures security between our two countries, and because without peace democracy cannot experience a favorable [word indistinct].

[Diop] You have been asked to act as observer at the negotiations between the Rwandan rebels and the government. What will your role be?

[Sibomana] Burundi is a country which, despite all that has happened, can be called Rwanda's twin country. This is therefore quite a specific role as an observer. As far as we are concerned, we will do our best because it is something that also concerns us, because peace in Rwanda also means peace in Burundi. As observers, we will, therefore, as far as possible, try to lend a hand and act as witnesses who can no doubt also give advice if we are called on to do so. [end recording]

We have just heard the Rwandan and Burundi prime ministers, in that order. They were discussing the security accords signed between the two countries this Monday in Bujumbura. These agreements confirm these two neighboring countries' desire to normalize relations, following the border incidents that took place last year.

Congo

Kombo Expects 21 Jun Elections To Go Ahead

LD1606091392 Paris Radio France International
in French 0630 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Interview with Ernest Kombo, president of the Republic Higher Council, by Caroline Dumet; place and date not given; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] Legislative elections are due to take place 21 June, despite rumors of a new postponement due to candidates deemed to be incompatible with law and to problems concerning printing of ballot papers. Ernest Kombo, president of the Republic Higher Council, remains confident, however:

[Kombo] We were demanding but we believe that we will get through, that is to say that printers will all get down to work and where there are no pictures on ballot papers there will be at least the logo and the name and we will nevertheless vote. One cannot be too demanding. Each constituency has at least 13 candidates; if five out of 13 are missing there is still a choice, so we are not yet at bay on this point.

[Dumet] Do you believe that you will be technically ready for 21 June?

[Kombo] We must be ready since we have already postponed it many times and parties are now out of breath. One must vote or else we will be ruined; they asked for elections themselves so technicians will get down to work so parties and people do not get penalized.

Opposition Criticism

AB1506163992 Paris AFP in English 1604 GMT
15 June 92

[Excerpts] Brazzaville, 15 Jun (AFP)—Congo's opposition coalition on Monday [15 June] said general elections scheduled to start Sunday [21 June] "cannot take place" because of major irregularities in voter registration.

In a statement issued at a press conference by the Front for the Defense of Democracy (FDD), 13 parties accused transitional Prime Minister Andre Milongo's government of failing to keep a pledge to correct registration errors.

FDD coordinator Jean-Marie Tassoua charged that more than 500,000 people not inscribed on the electoral rolls in the central African nation had been given voters' cards.

The FDD called on Milongo, President Denis Sassou-Nguesso and the head of the interim Supreme Council, Roman Catholic Bishop Ernest Kombo, to "assume their responsibilities" to guarantee peace.

It warned against hasty action that could lead to "permanent political instability and confrontation." [passage omitted]

Among those to sign Monday's statement were the former sole, ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT) and the National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP) of former Foreign Minister Pierre Nze.

Gabon

Bongo on Canada Visit, Participation in Summit

AB1506112092 Libreville Africa No 1 in French
1230 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Gabonese President Omar Bongo returned to Libreville late this morning after attending the Rio de

Janeiro Earth Summit. Before going to Rio de Janeiro, the Gabonese head of state paid an official visit to Canada. This visit was crowned with success because it enabled Omar Bongo to sign an important agreement with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney worth 50 billion CFA francs for the expansion of the Gabonese road network. Here are the details of this agreement given by Omar Bongo.

[Begin Bongo recording] The Trans-Gabon Railroad, which runs from the north to the south, passes through all the provinces, except Ogooue-Maritime Province. Concerning that province, I have just held other discussions to enable the extension of the railroad to Port-Gentil. I believe the agreement we have just signed will lead to the creation of a number of jobs in Gabon. I also believe that we will need to redeploy our workers, or else we will be forced once again to seek manpower elsewhere. I believe that once this program is completed, Gabon will no longer face the current problem of transportation among the north, south, east, west, and center. [end recording]

Another issue that the head of state spoke about was Western Sahara. Omar Bongo advocated the freezing of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic's (SDAR) participation in the forthcoming OAU summit in Dakar.

[Begin Bongo recording] I have always said that I do not know the Polisario Front. It is quite unacceptable to pursue this issue, especially we know how pressured people were when it came to the issue of recognizing the Polisario Front as a state. Many states acted hurriedly and today, should they decide to revive this issue, there would be great surprises. We need to be impartial since a referendum will be held on Western Sahara at the end of the year. It is quite normal for the SDAR to be prevented from attending the Dakar summit just as Morocco has decided not to attend it. That way, the two countries, if one can say the two countries by the way, can calmly prepare their referenda. My fear is that these people may come to the conference to make statements, seek our support, and ask us for various things. I for one, am for the freezing of the SDAR's participation in the OAU until things are straightened out. [end recording]

Ethiopia

Eritrean Government Council Names Members

EA1506153092 Asmara Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] The Provisional Government of Eritrea yesterday appointed members of the Council of the Provisional Government of Eritrea. Let us recall that the Eritrean People's Liberation Front's Central Committee issued a decree on the establishment of the authority and responsibility of the Provisional Government of Eritrea on 21 May. According to this decree, the executive body of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, which is the Council of the Provisional Government, will have 28 members. On the basis of this decree, the Council will consist of a chairman who will be the secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, administrators of 10 provinces, heads of four corps, the head of the naval force, and secretaries of 12 departments. The appointed members of the Council of the Provisional Government of Eritrea are the following:

Administrator of Asmara Province, Mr. Sebehat Ephrem; administrator of Sahel Province, Mr. Ukud Hamud Ukud; administrator of Semhar Province, Mr. Ibrahim Idris Totil; administrator of Denakil Province, Mr. Ramadan Mohamed Noor; administrator of Akologuzay, Mr. Mohamed Siad Barre; administrator of Seraye, Mr. Osman Salih; administrator of Gash and Setit Province, Mr. (Germano Natty); administrator of Barka Province, Mr. 'Abd al-Jabir; administrator of Senhit, Mr. Hamid Hummad; administrator of Hamasen Province, Mr. Abraha Kasa.

Head of the 161st Corps, Teklay Habte Selassie; head of the 271st Corps, Haile Samuel; head of the 381st Corps, Mesfin Hagos; head of the 491st Corps, Omar Hassan Idriss; head of the naval force, Hummad Muhammad Karikari.

Secretary of economic development and cooperation, Mr. Haile Wolde Tensae; secretary of defense, Mr. Petros Solomon; secretary of internal affairs, Mr. Ali Sayyid Abdullah; secretary of foreign affairs, Mr. Muhammad Sharifo; secretary of justice, Mr. S. Fawziyya Hashim; secretary of culture and information, Mr. al-Amin Muhammad Sayyid; secretary of agriculture, Dr. Tesfaye Girma Tseion; secretary of industry, Mr. Berhane Gebre Egziabher; secretary of finance, Mr. Estifanos Seyoum; secretary of building, Mr. Tekeste Gebre Mikael; secretary of education, Mr. Beraki Gebre Selassie; secretary of health, Dr. Haile Mehtsun; secretary general, Mr. Isayas Afewerki.

Foreign Observers Sent To Supervise Elections

EA1506213092 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in Amharic to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT 15 June 92

[Excerpt] Fifty additional foreign observers have been deployed to different parts of the country to supervise the nationwide regional council elections scheduled for 21 June. The group's deployment will be finished in two days. In fact, some of the observers have already left by air and road for Asela, Welayta Sodo, Mekele, and Dembi Dolo. [passage omitted].

Kenya

Commonwealth Group Arrives, Submits Memorandum

EA1606105092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 15 June 92

[Text] The four-man Commonwealth Secretariat planning mission advance team met with the attorney general, Amos Wako, and members of the symposia one and two in two separate meetings.

In a five-point memorandum submitted to the secretariat's planning mission, the inter-party group stressed its misgivings of a free and fair election being carried out under the supervision of the present electoral commission and the secretariat is due to meet the opposition parties individually tomorrow.

[Unidentified reporter] The issue of the electoral commission and its independence dominated the five-page memorandum submitted to the Commonwealth Secretariat planning mission's advance monitoring team by the inter-party consultative group. But foremost in the memorandum was what was termed the state of insecurity in the country precipitated by the tribal clashes in the Rift Valley Province and western Kenya and those displaced Kenyans unable to register as voters.

On the electoral commission, the memorandum charged the commission appointed to supervise voter registration is incapable of dispensing electoral justice to all contestants in the elections as it was set up before Kenya became a de jure multiparty state. Its current members were appointed by the present government, which may appear to undermine their impartiality and it is relying on the provincial administration in the ongoing exercise of voters' registration. For the opposition, the memorandum continued, unless there was, in their view, an independent electoral commission, it would not participate in the electoral process. The record further charged the opposition was excluded from TV and radio coverage on public media, which, they said, was a government propaganda tool. This and the refusal of licenses for the opposition to hold rallies, confiscation of various magazine issues, and laws such as the public order act, sedition laws, chief's authority act were termed oppressive.

Workers Stay Away as ANC Launches Mass Action*MB1606115692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1052 GMT 16 Jun 92*

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg June 16 SAPA—Black workers stayed away from work in major centres in South Africa on Tuesday to commemorate the bloody 1976 Soweto student revolt, giving the African National Congress [ANC] an emotional setting for the launch of its mass action programme.

Trains ran almost empty in Johannesburg, minibus taxis stayed off the streets, taxi ranks in townships were deserted and buses virtually halted services to black townships.

Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] management committee reportedly decided to postpone its proceedings for a day to observe the unofficial holiday, "Soweto Day".

ANC President Nelson Mandela was set to launch a two-week programme of street demonstrations, sit-ins and boycotts on Tuesday at a rally in Soweto after laying a wreath for the victims of the student uprising—in which at least 600 people were killed in violent confrontations with police.

The South African Chamber of Business said it was working on a statement detailing the extent and impact of the stayaway.

ANC Spokeswoman Gill Marcus said initial indications were that the action was "extensive".

At least 80 per cent of black workers stayed away from work in Pretoria on Tuesday and attendance in and around Durban city varied between 20 and 90 per cent. In Pietermaritzburg many companies declared Tuesday a holiday and attendance there was between zero and 90 per cent.

In Durban, trains were 50 per cent full on Tuesday morning and on the south coast and north coast line trains were carrying only 25 per cent and 40 per cent of their normal passengers.

Reports said essential services in the eastern Cape had not been disrupted, but buses were not running to the townships and no refuse removals were being carried out.

President F. W. de Klerk, joining a flurry of groupings opposing the mass protests, said on Monday [15 June] the ANC protests were contrary to the spirit of negotiations, adding the current deadlock in Codesa could not justify the ... actions.

"The government will not allow itself to be blackmailed by threats of any actions resulting from (the mass action)," he said in a statement as last-ditch efforts to dissuade the ANC failed at Codesa.

—As the campaign to force government concessions at Codesa began, police reported five more deaths on Tuesday, pushing the toll in less than 24 hours to 25 dead.

Two of 19 people wounded in the gun attack on commuters at Daveyton railway station were reported dead on Tuesday. An ambulance spokesman in Benoni said one man died on the way to the Springs Hospital and the other died in the Kempton Park Clinic.

Two other victims were found dead in Sebokeng near Vereeniging, south of Johannesburg.

Soweto police said the sprawling township was quiet on Tuesday morning.

Mandela Unveils Memorial*MB1506120392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1106 GMT 16 Jun 92*

[By Frans Pienaar]

[Text] Johannesburg June 16 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela on Tuesday unveiled a memorial tombstone in Orlando in honour of Hector Petersen, the first victim of the 1976 Soweto student uprising.

Mr Mandela earlier led a march of about 2,000 people from Ikwezi station to the memorial site at Orlando's Regina Mundi Church.

ANC National Chairman Oliver Tambo said at the ceremony the tombstone should be a reminder to today's youth of what the 1976 victims had died for. June 16 was inscribed in blood in the political calendar, he said.

Unity under the youth of South Africa would be the greatest tribute to the heroes of 1976.

"The...uprising unleashed a vortex of popular anger and victory is now in the offing."

Hector's mother also laid a wreath at the tomb of her son.

The ceremony was attended by ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, SA [South African] Communist Party Chairman Joe Slovo, independent MP and ANC member Jannie Momborg, ANC Youth League President Peter Mokaba and various other ANC officials.

A large local and foreign media contingent covered the event.

No incidents occurred at the wreath-laying ceremony or during the march, and police and army troops kept a low profile.

ANC-SACP Supporters Disarmed

MB1606140692 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1100 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] The police confiscated a large quantity of weapons at the President station on the East Rand this morning, after disarming about 500 ANC [African National Congress] and South African Communist Party [SACP] supporters. The police said that the supporters were apparently on their way to Soweto. No one was arrested. Police confiscated 40 spears, 26 axes, 16 knives, and a home-made revolver and cartridges.

ANC, Government Wage 'War of Words' at Codesa

MB1506201792 Johannesburg SABA in English
1946 GMT 15 Jun 92

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg June 15 SABA--The African National Congress [ANC] and the government were locked in a war of words at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] on the eve of the start of the ANC's mass action campaign on Tuesday [16 June].

An all-day Codesa Management Committee (MC) meeting ended on Monday night with the two parties holding separate news conferences where they criticised each other.

They disagreed fundamentally on the state of the negotiation process and on mass action.

As far as the ANC was concerned negotiations were still deadlocked on the crucial Working Group Two issue of a constitution-making body. This issue almost derailed Codesa Two in May.

"Unless the deadlock in Working Group Two is resolved, the future of this country is at stake," ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa told the media.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer did not agree.

Mr Meyer told a news conference that a MC decision on Monday to set up a structure to look into Working Group Two was a "positive development".

He denied there was a deadlock at Codesa, and accused the ANC of trying to use this to justify their mass action campaign. In fact progress had been made, Mr Meyer said.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "The whole issue of the (Working Group Two) deadlock is still in crisis."

He maintained Codesa was "plunged into a further deadlock" on Monday when the government refused to agree to an ANC alliance proposal that it place a moratorium on a number of bills currently before Parliament which, he said, affected the negotiation process.

"We demanded a moratorium by the government," Mr Ramaphosa said. "They refused to accede to this and as a result Codesa was plunged into another deadlock and a crisis."

"It has become clear to us that the government not only wants to hold on to power, it also wants to act in a unilateral way even during the period of transition when one would have expected that a government which argues that it is committed to democratic ideals would consult those that it is negotiating with."

Mr Meyer argued there was nothing in Codesa's terms of reference which said the government had to bring new legislation to the negotiation process.

The two leaders also disagreed on the issue of their recent bilateral meetings. Mr Ramaphosa insisted there had been no progress, while Mr Meyer said he had documentary proof of the progress.

Mr Meyer claimed the ANC/SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance had decided even before Codesa Two that it would embark on its mass action campaign.

The campaign had nothing to do with the negotiation process but was being used "to build their own political power base".

"Any political organisation is entitled to peaceful protest," Mr Meyer said, "there is no argument about that."

"What we are concerned about is the disruptive nature mass action can develop into and... the violence that it could cause."

"We heard about the possibility that there could be provocation which could lead to incidents of violence, and that... we can't tolerate."

He also warned the mass action campaign could slow down the negotiation process at Codesa.

"We are positive about going on with the (negotiation) process (but) it is disappointing that the climate of mass action is causing unnecessary tension."

Mr Ramaphosa gave an undertaking that the ANC was committed to a peaceful mass action campaign: "We will ensure on our side that there is no loss of life."

He added though the ANC was "concerned about provocation from the security forces which the government is deploying in an unprecedented manner."

"We have reason to believe that the government is whipping up the emotions of our people and may try to disrupt the rallies that are going to take place."

De Klerk Regrets ANC's 'Aggressive Tone'

MB1606075192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2236 GMT 15 Jun 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the South African Communication Service: "Press Statement by State President F. W. de Klerk"]

[Text] It was with disappointment that I took note of the aggressive tone and the style of conflict which characterise recent ANC [African National Congress] statements.

Protect actions of the extent and nature which are envisaged do not accord with the spirit of honest negotiation to which the ANC and its alliance partners have committed themselves at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. They are also at variance with the spirit of the Peace Accord.

The present state of affairs with regard to the negotiation process can also not be rendered as justification for this type of mass action. There is no reason to assume that we cannot continue in the foreseeable future to build successfully on the good progress which has already been made with negotiations regarding the transitional phase to a new political dispensation.

Similarly, nobody anymore doubts the irreversibility of the reform process.

It is untrue to allege that the government is clinging to power at all cost as long as possible; indeed, the government is committed to instituting transitional government in a justifiable manner as soon as it is practicable.

Within this framework the planned actions of the ANC and its allies are untimely, uncalled for and, given the present climate of violence, irresponsible.

The government will not be intimidated by the present threats or any actions flowing therefrom. We will persist in our efforts to remove remaining obstacles in the path of constitutional reform through discussion and negotiation.

The assurance is given to the public that the government has done, and will continue doing everything in its power to see to it that law and order is maintained and that disruption will be kept to a minimum.

I appeal to law-abiding and peace-loving South Africans to give their co-operation to the authorities in this regard, not to allow themselves to be intimidated and to distance themselves from disruptive and undemocratic actions. Issued by the office of the state president Cape Town 15 June 1992

Minister Says Security Forces Ready for Anything

MB1506154192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1530 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Cape Town June 15 SAPA—The security forces were prepared for any eventuality which might arise from the planned mass action by the ANC [African

National Congress], the minister of law and order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said on Monday [15 June].

"Those who wish to work or conduct any other legal activity should have the right to do so—the security forces will ensure that the democratic rights of such persons are protected," he said in a statement on Monday.

The advocates of mass action must carry full responsibility should their actions lead to any form of violence, polarisation, conflict or disruption.

He emphasised that the government was not opposed to peaceful and legal protest but was opposed to mass action which, as in the past, had so frequently led to "mindless violence, destruction of lives and property and large-scale economic disruption."

The ANC's planned mass action was nothing less than an attempt to exert pressure on the government to further their apparent objective of total power and government would not give in to this pressure.

Mr Kriel said the following actions would not be tolerated:

- Disruption of the public transport system, or emergency and essential services;
- Intimidation;
- The occupation of state or semi-state buildings; and
- Damage to property or buildings.

The South African Police had already initiated its own peace campaign which included an advert and pamphlet campaign emphasising the rights of all during peaceful protest and highlighted the basic principles of democratic protest with which the government identified.

These were that such actions should be legal and peaceful, persons should exercise their democratic rights responsibly, the rights of others should not be denied, and all actions which could lead to conflict and violence should be avoided.

It was still felt that, because of the high incidence of violence, it would be irresponsible to exercise these rights at such a time and climate.

"I would, therefore, like to make an appeal to all those involved to reconsider this course of action.

"The government is committed to a negotiated future for South Africa and will not be intimidated by the ANC or any other political party or organisation into accepting a

constitution which does not include the fundamental principle of power-sharing."

Defense Minister Condemns 'Confrontation Politics'

*MB1506193792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1920 GMT 15 Jun 92*

[Text] Parliament June 15 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] was indulging in confrontation politics with its campaign of mass action and was not seeking a political solution, the minister of defence, Mr Gene Louw, said on Monday night.

Replying to second reading debate on the Defence Amendment Bill, he said the mass action had been planned at the beginning of May and the ANC had come to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II with a hidden agenda.

"Whatever the outcome, they (the ANC) will proceed with their devious programme of mass action with the aim of destroying the country's economy and taking over the government."

Although the ANC claimed to be a peaceful organisation about 100 people were killed in last year's anti-VAT [value added tax] stayaway.

The SADF [South African Defense Force] was independent and apolitical and would not accept any private army into the force.

Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK; ANC military wing] was linked to a political organisation and wanted to further its aims.

"While MK members are involved in acts of violence there is no chance of it being integrated into the SADF. The same goes for rightwing organisations."

There was no objection to individual members of these groups joining the SADF as long as they were committed to help the country's progress.

Amendments to the Defence Act were designed to help bona fide conscientious objectors and to anyone who was taking a chance by claiming to be one would be punished.

A new system of national service was being discussed in which race would play no part.

Every year about 25,000 whites underwent military training. There were about 110,000 matriculants each year and about 1.3 million men aged 18 so a ballot or community service option had to be considered.

Any country in the world would make contingency plans in the light of Tuesday's mass action campaign and members of the Citizen Force and the Commandos had been put on standby to help the police.

"To blame the Defence Force of war talk is simply pointing a finger at themselves—that is the ANC—

because they are the cause of these soldiers being called out of their houses, jobs and communities in order to prevent people from killing each other and to make it possible for others to exercise their democratic rights."

Citizen Force members of the Navy and Air Force were available to maintain emergency services such as power, water supply and transport.

NP Says ANC 'Afraid of Democratic Process'

*MB1506141392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1400 GMT 15 Jun 92*

[Text] Johannesburg June 15 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] and its allies are afraid of the democratic process and are resorting to mass action to achieve "what they are incapable of doing through the democratic process", National Party [NP] provincial leaders said on Monday.

In a statement the NP leaders said the ANC axis was worried it might lose to the NP in a election, because of the party's capability.

The mass action as planned by the ANC was aimed at growing support for orderly negotiation; support for regionalism and federalism; the realisation that the ANC did not have answers for the problems facing the country; and "growing solidarity among those who share the same norms and refuse to be intimidated by the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance".

They alleged the mass action was decided on even before Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II and the alliance was boasting of having caused a deadlock at Codesa.

The NP charged that the names given to the various phases of the ANC's campaign revealed the true motive of mass action: a take-over of power.

"The ANC suspended the armed struggle, practically giving it up altogether, in order to make way for negotiation. The process of reform and democratisation has progressed to a point where there is no longer any possibility of a return to the apartheid dispensation."

Although admitting that the ANC had contributed to negotiations and agreements reached such as the National Peace Accord, the NP charged that mass action was contrary to the letter and spirit of the negotiations.

"Mass action is extremely irresponsible in a climate in which violence has already reached unacceptable levels. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the ANC alliance is indifferent to the consequences that might follow."

The NP implored South Africans to support President F.W. de Klerk and politicians who stood for negotiations.

"Employers and employees should not allow themselves to be intimidated. Mass action can only further harm the economy and jeopardise the jobs of thousands of people," the NP charged.

Deadlock Part of ANC Plan

*MB1606121592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1124 GMT 16 Jun 92*

[Text] Cape Town June 16 SAPA—In a call for the ANC [African National Congress] to abandon mass action, the National Party [NP] said on Tuesday that it was clear that the deadlock at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 was part of an ANC plan.

The office of the secretary general of the National Party said in a statement that the ANC should take note of the growing chorus of protest both at home and abroad and call off its planned mass action.

"Already innocent South Africans are paying with their lives for the ANC's arrogant and intransigent strategy."

The statement said: "It is clear from the ANC's own documentation that the deadlock at Codesa 2 was part of an ANC plan."

There was no doubt that through the give and take of negotiation compromise solutions could be reached and the fact that the ANC was prepared to continue participating in talks at the highest level bore witness to this.

"However, the ANC's avowed intention to proceed with the mass action campaign which it well knows could end in violence, bloodshed and suffering for its own people casts serious doubt over its good faith as a negotiator.

"The fact that the police by their prompt action saved Soweto from being plunged into a bloodbath over the weekend is further proof of the dangerous and provocative game the ANC is playing.

"The National Party calls on the ANC to think again for the sake of a peaceful and prosperous South African nation."

Treurnicht Warns ANC 'Playing With Fire'

*MB1506145692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1412 GMT 15 Jun 92*

[Text] Cape Town June 15 SAPA—Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned the African National Congress on Monday that it would be "playing with fire" if it carried its mass action campaign into "white areas" this week.

"It will be a provocation to violence which no responsible leader would dare risk," he said in a statement released in Cape Town.

He appealed to employers to act strictly against striking workers involved in illegal stayaway actions.

"There are thousands of unemployed who can immediately replace them and strikers should realise that in these circumstances they cannot be reemployed."

DP Fears Majority Intimidated in Mass Action

*MB1506140092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1336 GMT 15 Jun 92*

[Text] Cape Town June 15 SAPA—Tuesday's mass action campaign would make the majority of law-abiding South Africans fearful and intimidated, Mr Peter Gastrow, the Democratic Party's [DP] spokesman on law and order, said in a statement on Tuesday.

The mass action would only be of benefit to a limited number of partisan activists.

The DP condemned the possibility of violence and intimidation linked to the campaign and called for decisive measures to be taken against it.

The mass action campaign has its origins in historical circumstances which no longer apply.

"The DP believes that the urgent need to foster a true spirit of negotiation and reconciliation in South Africa will not be served by the current mass action campaign."

ANC Urges Defiance of Citizen Force Call-Up

*MB1606135692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1315 GMT 16 Jun 92*

[Text] Cape Town June 16 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] on Tuesday called on all Citizen Force members to defy their call-up for the duration of the mass action campaign. ANC spokesman Willie Hofmeyr said the call-up was a crude attempt by the National Party [NP] to divert attention from the real issues at hand—the NP's refusal to give up power.

He said having failed to secure minority rights at the negotiating table, the NP's strategy now appeared to be an all-out campaign to discredit the ANC. "A part of this strategy is transparently an attempt to create a false sense of alarm and panic around the proposed programme of mass action and protest by the ANC and its allies. We therefore call on white people to reject these new 'swart gevaar' [black threat] tactics; and for those who have received call-up telegrams to defy this attempt to involve them in what amounts to no more than an attempt to win NP positions at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]," said Mr Hofmeyr.

Further on Police Seizure of Weapons in Soweto

ANC Reacts

MB1506164892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1635 GMT 15 Jun 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress, ANC: "ANC Press Statement on Peaceful Mass Action"]

[Text] The disarming and confiscation of dangerous weapons by IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] members and supporters to a rally in Soweto yesterday demonstrated the fact the South African Police [SAP] have the capacity to curb the violence that is raging in the townships. What the police and the government they serve have lacked up to now is the political will to act against perpetrators of violence who are their political allies. If the police had acted as they did yesterday from the beginning the violence would not have escalated to present proportions.

The actions of the police against IFP supporters are part of a propaganda build up which is aimed at legitimizing the war they have declared on peaceful mass action. The propaganda by the SAP, instead of genuine action aimed at achieving peace for all, defines the SAP as a private army of the apartheid regime. The mobilization of ordinary white citizens as reservists has the potential of permanently damaging race relations in South Africa. South Africans classified white must refuse to be used by the Nationalist government in defence of apartheid.

The ANC will take up with the Peace Secretariat the issue of continued IFP violations of the Peace Accord by the carrying (and, often, use) of dangerous weapons to and at meetings that are cynically called peace rallies. Issued by:

The Department of Information and Publicity,

P.O. Box 61884, Marshalltown 2107, Johannesburg 15
June, 1992

Inkatha Spokesman Comments

MB1606095392 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is still smarting from yesterday's South African Police operation in which hundreds of Inkatha supporters were disarmed on their way to a Soweto rally. The weapons captured included rifles, spears, and sticks. The unprecedented action comes as the ANC [African National Congress], bitter rivals of the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP, prepares to launch a campaign of mass action starting tomorrow which has raised fears of a fresh wave of factional fighting. This afternoon, the IFP held a press conference at which their spokesman Themba Khoza complained about yesterday's police action. On the line to Johannesburg, Robin White asked him what he was unhappy about.

[Begin recording] [Khoza] Our complaint is not about the (?searching) of the people, because we understand that the police need to carry its job and do what they are supposed to do to protect the community, but the point that we are making here is that the police were searching the IFP group in the presence of the ANC group just a few meters away. As the South African Police...[pauses] finding each and every arm that was illegally in the possession of an IFP member, they took that arm and wielded it up in the air for the ANC group to see and in each time they did that, the ANC were actually coming up in jubilation, making shouts in support of what the South African Police were doing. Now, we cannot accept that type of situation and again, the South African Police were seen clinching fists, waving up in the air in support of the ANC.

[White] Mr. Temba Khoza, isn't it a fact that you were kind of caught red-handed and that is rather embarrassing; isn't that the truth of the matter?

[Khoza] Not at all, not at all, not all. When you talk of red-handed, you talk of some people committing a crime. The reasons must be made clear here. In each and every event of our march and rallies, our people have been massacred by the ANC.

[White] But if your people are carrying guns, then surely you must expect that they will be picked up?

[Khoza] We don't complain that they were picked up, but we complain about the method and the way the police carried it. We never complained about the people... [pauses] look, all those people who were arrested not all of them were carrying firearms, and many other people were hit by the police and then not all of them again had any thing to do with the weapons. Now, all that we are saying, we are saying the unjust is being carried in our country against our people.

[White] Now, in the past it has been alleged that the police were in cahoots with you. Why do you think the police seem to be now taking a different attitude toward you?

[Khoza] Well, I am not amongst those of you who have been swallowed up and made a victim of propaganda. I know this has been propaganda. I know this has been the lies carried by the ANC, and then unfortunately there are some other people who believed in it, and then those are victims of propaganda. In all the world, it has been always the case. Communist organizations are propagandist organizations, so those who are feeble-minded often fall victim of propaganda, and then that is not the case with me. I am then saying: The police never was on our side and the police has been where they are, and this is now enough evidence. It is not the first time the police is doing what they did to the people. I personally, Themba Khoza, have been the victim of the police. So, it is actually ridiculous and quite bitter for me to hear people going around, after they are fed with propaganda, and say that we had at some stage police on our side.

[White] You say you were a victim of the police yourself, when was that and what happened?

[Khoza] Well, those who have been following the news know about it.

[White] What happened?

[Khoza] Yes, they know what happened.

[White] But I don't. Can you tell me what happened?

[Khoza] No, the world knows, we do have [word indistinct]. [end recording]

Inkatha Press Statement

*MB1606065792 Johannesburg SABA in English
0504 GMT 16 Jun 92*

[SABA PR Wire Service issued by the office of the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP; press statement by Mr. Themba Khoza, IFP central committee member; 15th June 1992]

[Text] A week ago I addressed a symposium in Soweto which was hosted by the South African Police [SAP]. This conference was to address the issue of violence and to raise concerns with regard to peace in Soweto. At this forum, I thanked the SAP for their initiative which has constructively shown their commitment to peace.

The role of the SAP as a neutral peace keeping force was stressed and the SAP command agreed that this point was of fundamental importance for the maintenance of stability. Despite this agreement, certain actions by the SAP in Soweto yesterday has shown that there is a long way to go before agreement on such an issue is translated into practical policing methods. The action of the SAP yesterday has therefore raised serious questions over the issue of neutral policing and the ability of the security forces to control the actions of their members.

Yesterday (Sunday) at Dube and New Canada railway station, IFP supporters on their way to an IFP youth brigade rally at Jabulani amphitheatre were stopped by the SAP. The legality of the action is not disputed, but the necessity of displaying confiscated weaponry to ANC supporters at the scene is provocative and adds to the volatility which already exists. The burning of an IFP flag by SAP members is a serious indictment against the SAP and also has seriously jeopardised trust between IFP supporters and SAP members.

The personal safety of IFP supporters is of fundamental importance and this fact is highlighted by the fact that several attacks on IFP members took place yesterday. The disarming of people who have in their possession dangerous weapons cannot be condemned, however, the onus falls on the SAP to protect our people and when this is not done, those people take it on themselves to ensure their own protection. The disarming of IFP supporters

by the SAP who do not protect them from attack raises questions about the neutrality and effectiveness of the SAP.

IFP members are in constant fear of attack, for example a hand grenade attack was launched at about 1,500 IFP supporters returning from a funeral last Saturday [13 June]. Understandably, IFP members, who have experienced this type of offensive on a regular basis fear attacks when commuting to and from rallies and expect the SAP to provide adequate protection.

IFP members also fear attacks during the planned ANC [African National Congress] mass action as whenever there has been such an action, it has been accompanied by intimidation and violence. The IFP has decided to motivate our members to peacefully defy ANC pressures and will support the democratic right of people to choose whether they wish to go to work or not.

As a result of expected intimidation and violence against community members, the IFP has called on the minister of law and order and the minister of defence to ensure that arterial bus and taxi routes are kept open. We will also call for security force re-enforcements at trouble spots. We have also decided to send a delegation to see the chairman of the National Peace Committee in order to establish a communication system for the 24 hour monitoring of violations of the National Peace Accord. We have decided to call mass meetings in city centres to demonstrate the fact that the majority of workers reject the ANC's mass action programmes.

We will appoint co-ordinators to link residents in trouble spots with security forces.

We call on the ANC to cease justifying its mass action programme by pretending it is acting against the South African Government. This is not true. The truth is that at least half of all delegates at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] plenary sessions and working groups opposed the ANC's Working Group II proposals. The mass action contemplated by the ANC is action against political groups which oppose their demands. We are appalled by the ANC's plans to launch narrow ANC sectarian campaigns on the 16th June which is a day which should be respected by all political groupings across all race groups.

Shields, Sticks Returned

*MB1606091992 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 0500 GMT 16 Jun 92*

[Text] Police have returned shields and sticks belonging to IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] supporters that were confiscated during a police blitz in Soweto on Sunday [14 June].

An SAP [South African Police] spokesman said that dangerous weapons had been retained at the New Canada police station. He was reacting to reports that a truck-load of traditional weapons had been off-loaded at the IFP's office in central Johannesburg yesterday.

The spokesman also denied that any knob kerries [knobsticks] or sharpened sticks had been returned to IFP supporters.

Earlier the ANC [African National Congress] said in a statement that the disarming and confiscation of dangerous weapons demonstrated the fact that the police had the capacity to curb violence.

Police Keep Firearms, Knives

MB1606120292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1050 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Johannesburg June 16 SAPA—Illegal firearms, pangas [large knives] and axes confiscated by the police from Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] supporters on Sunday [14 June] have not been returned to them, according to IFP Regional Organiser Themba Khoza.

Zulu cowhide shields and knobkerries [knobsticks] were however returned to the party, he confirmed. At a Johannesburg news conference, he showed reporters a pile of shields and sticks.

"Pangas and axes are illegal and these were not returned. Those illegal firearms which were seized were also not returned," he told SAPA.

The IFP regretted the carrying of illegal weapons by some of its members, he said.

"That is not our policy. But we understand that when there is fighting they will resort to anything to protect themselves."

Prior to the conference, Mr Khoza ran repeatedly through SABC TV news footage of the swoop, focusing on two particular images which he said made nonsense of claims that the SAP support Inkatha.

The first was the picture of a uniformed policeman turning towards a cheering crowd of onlookers, triumphantly holding up a pistol which had just been confiscated.

Grouped angrily around the video at the conference on Tuesday, IFP members said they knew the onlookers and they were ANC supporters.

The second image on the video was the sight of a black policeman, once again in uniform, jumping up and down with what appeared to be delight, as weapons were seized.

Mr Khoza condemned this and the confiscation of traditional shields and sticks and said complaints had been lodged with the police.

"We commend their action in a volatile climate but it went beyond the borders of their duty and has engendered mistrust."

He called on police to protect people who wished to go to work on Tuesday or at any other time during the ANC's planned mass action.

Inkatha recognised June 16 and was honouring it with commemoration rallies at Mzimhlope, Soweto, and at Vosloorus.

"We will commemorate June 16 with respect. But the ANC is dramatising it and using it for political purposes."

Mr Khoza said the IFP would not tolerate any more attacks on its members from the ANC. Asked what this meant, he said: "Strengthening up all structures. It is a serious warning."

SADF Claims ANC Plans Confrontation in Imbali

MB1606115792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1032 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Pretoria June 16 SAPA—The military wing of the African National Congress [ANC], Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, MK], is planning military confrontation with the security forces in the Imbali area of the Natal midlands, the official SADF [South African Defense Force] newspaper UNIFORM has claimed.

The ANC immediately slated the report as false propaganda.

In its June issue, UNIFORM claimed to have information that MK planned "large-scale armed conflict with the security forces".

According to paper's editor-in-chief, Col Connie van Rensburg, MK had been ordered, in step with the current mass action, to mobilise a maximum number of its members in the Imbali area to try and take over control of the area by forcing out the security forces.

UNIFORM said MK had also been ordered to empty all its arms caches in the area and to distribute the weapons among its members.

The newspaper further alleged MK members had travelled to the Transkei last month to collect arms. They had returned with, amongst other equipment, camouflage uniforms of the type worn by the South African Police.

In her reaction to the report, ANC media Spokeswoman Gill Marcus said the unsubstantiated allegations only served to fuel the violence and increased tensions in an area that was already highly volatile.

"This is highly irresponsible," Ms Marcus said in a statement.

If the army had information of this nature, it should have brought this to the attention of the peace secretariat or the Goldstone Commission.

"The fact that the army choses to publish these allegations in the army newspaper smacks of a propaganda exercise, endeavouring to reinforce army hostility to the ANC and ordinary citizens," Ms Marcus said.

The army newspaper's report was intended to bring MK into disrepute as the instigators of violence, she concluded.

Bill Seeks To Curb Intimidation, Speed Up Trials

*MB1506131592 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 15 Jun 92*

[Text] Legislation has been tabled in the South African Parliament for the introduction of special measures to combat intimidation and speed up trials for special serious offences.

The minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the legislation also contained special measures to deal with offenses covering organizations with a military character, and offenses relating to the illegal possession of weapons.

Mr Coetsee said the measures, which would be in effect for one year, were intended to curb the unacceptable levels of violence and intimidation in South Africa. The legislation would be extended if necessary.

Opposition MP's Urge Redrafting of Defense Bill

*MB1606095492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 0500 GMT 16 Jun 92*

[Text] The Democratic Party and the independent ANC [African National Congress] members of Parliament have called on the government to withdraw the Defense Amendment Bill so that it may be redrafted.

A DP spokesman said in a debate in Parliament on the bill that his party supported a permanent force, supplemented by volunteers and a ballot system if necessary.

Meanwhile Defense Minister Gene Louw said the retention of national service for whites should be seen as a temporary measure during the transitional negotiations.

The bill prevents the evasion of national service and provides for conscientious objectors.

AZAPO 'Aiming for Power' in First General Vote

*MB1506124392 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
15 Jun 92 p 5*

[Report by Kaizer Nyatumba: "AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] 'Aiming for Power in All-In Poll'"]

[Text] The Azanian People's Organisation was aiming for power in the first inclusive general election and would not wait to become an opposition party under a majority government, according to AZAPO president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Nefolovhodwe said AZAPO—which would soon embark on a major fund-raising and recruitment drive countrywide—was "contending for power like any other organisation". AZAPO, Mr Nefolovhodwe said, would not be content with merely being a major force in opposition politics once a new government was in power, but would aim at power itself during the first all-in election.

He was reacting to a recent story in The Star quoting his predecessor in the Black Consciousness organisation, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, who said AZAPO would emerge as a major political player once an ANC [African National Congress] government—widely regarded as a fait accompli—was in power.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said the impression had been created that he agreed with Professor Mosala's views, expressed during a recorded interview with The Star in London.

His position, he said, was that AZAPO would take on whatever interim government was formed as a result of negotiations in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], which has organisation regarded as a fraud.

However, Mr Nefolovhodwe said AZAPO would not take part in elections for a constituent assembly unless it was convinced these would be conducted to its satisfaction.

Conditions which would have to be met included the restriction of all security forces to their bases and that the elections be supervised by international observers.

SACP's Hani Discusses 'Repression' at ANC Camps

*MB1506185592 Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Jun 92 pp 18-20*

[Interview with Chris Hani, South African Communist Party, SACP, secretary general, by Hein Marais; place and date not given]

[Text] [Marais] Ellis [former editor of AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL and coeditor of a novel titled "Comrades Against Apartheid"] makes the allegation that within the military and security structures of the ANC [African National Congress] there developed a culture of 'intolerance' and 'repression'. He ties this to the SACP's role in those structures.

[Hani] That's sheer ridiculous anti-communism. Yes there was a culture of intolerance, but those who were critical of that culture were leading Communist Party members: Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, myself.

A time will come when we shall sit down, when this is all over, and give an account of how people like ourselves were in the forefront of criticising that culture, of pushing forward positions of justice.

It is an open secret that the most vocal critic of detention without trial was Chris Hani. I was a member of the politbureau—people who challenged the detention of Thami Zulu and others were leading members of the SACP. We discussed it at our own central committee meetings and within our politbureau. And a person like Pallo Jordan (who was arrested by the security department) was actually released because people like Slovo and others intervened.

Up to the time people were released from Quatro I led a campaign at every meeting of the NEC [National Executive Committee] of the ANC, saying that we cannot call upon the regime to release our political prisoners and continue detaining people for long periods without trial. I accept that there was a time when our security actually dealt with detainees in a way I never accepted. I tried to understand how they behaved like that.

This was a period—I'm not condoning it—when our people were targets of assassination in Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, when the security branch in our country was sending dozens of agents to poison people, to destabilise our camps, to create a situation where our struggle would be neutralised. There was a need for us—and I will never dispute this—to set up an efficient security system.

But it is important in any movement, in any government, that security forces should be given clear guidelines and they should be accountable to a leadership. They should never use methods that are not acceptable in any democratic country. Communist leaders tried to change a situation where harmful and negative methods were used against those who were suspected of working for the South African regime.

[Marais] Did the regime's ability to infiltrate the movement create conditions where innocent dissenters could be targeted and drawn in under the same dragnet? Did this happen?

[Hani] Yes it happened. This climate, where the regime was destabilising the ANC, killing its leaders, assassinating commanders of MK [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing], created a situation of overall suspicion. In other words, if for instance we had sent people into the country and 60 percent of them were either arrested or killed, sometimes the wrong conclusion would be drawn that those who handled the operations were working for the enemy.

And in my own view, people like Thami Zulu were victims of that situation of paranoia and hysteria about the ability of the regime to send in agents. People began to lose a balanced approach in terms of combating the infiltration of the ANC by the regime.

And that situation actually caused problems where, in my own view, the innocent and the guilty were sometimes lumped together.

[Marais] What happen to Pallo Jordan?

[Hani] Cde [Comrade] Jordan, who apparently has a very big mouth (laughs), had said something derogatory about the security department, about its methods—he had criticised it openly in an impromptu discussion with some other people. And that critical voice reached the ears of the security, and because the security was a law unto itself, Cde [Comrade] Jordan was picked up and detained for a few days.

There was an investigation into such events—particularly into the mutiny—led by James Stuart. It was apparently never filed at the Kabwe conference (in 1985).

Because Kabwe was a critical and crucial conference for the ANC, it was lumbered with lots of items which had to be discussed in the specified time.

When the time came for the security to give a report, it was felt that time was not available, and that time would be made available for that report to be tabled. But that report was never tabled.

[Marais] Never afterwards?

[Hani] No. BUt the report was tabled to the NEC, and some of the recommendations—in all fairness to the Stuart Commission—were actually implemented.

[Marais] So the report never became 'public' knowledge to the members of the ANC?

[Hani] No, no. It was never made available to members of the movement. It was made available to members of the NEC. And certainly, there was an improvement in the conditions of detention as well as the accountability of the security department.

[Marais] You were central to trying to sort out the crisis in the 1984 mutiny. What went through your mind when you went into the camp to negotiate with the mutineers?

[Hani] I was summoned to come and try to solve a mutinous situation. And you must bear in mind that when the Angolan camps were established, I was not in Angola, I was in Lesotho doing internal work. I only proceeded there in 1982-3. So, I never had a role in terms of establishing a foundation for our camps. In other words, I got into a situation where there was already a Quatro. I didn't have the benefit of the background in terms of even the detainees. I began to meet people who were already in detention, and I had to try and update myself about each and everyone of them.

Before the mutiny, I have been given the responsibility of fighting with our comrades against the incursions by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] which were threatening our very survival. It was becoming very difficult to move even between Luanda and the camps because of ambushes. And it was clear that, if we were to survive as a movement, in terms of retaining our ability to train in Angola, we had to

participate in flushing out UNITA, especially in areas around our camps. So, I participated in that fight, around the Kwansa river.

That fight led to a situation where we began to suffer casualties. Some elements began to say: Look, we are dying in Angola, why are we here, why are we fighting here and not fighting at home. And that began to stir a feeling amongst our comrades into questioning our very role in fighting UNITA, which impacted on some people. They actually said they were fed up with going back to Luanda. And they took their weapons, took trucks, and virtually took over our transit camp in Viana, in Luanda.

It was at this point that I was called upon to persuade them to stop. And they refused, and we had to appeal to the Angolans to come, to help us disarm them. They were disarmed. After that, they were sent back to camps of the ANC.

The mutiny did not take place in Viana. It took place months later when we thought the whole thing was over. Now, I was in favour of a dialogue with the mutineers. But I reached the end of my tether when they killed several key commanders in one camp called Bango, and took over the camp. We had no alternative but to go and recapture the camp and assert authority.

The loyalists (if I may use that term) overran the camp. Lives were lost on both sides. Very sad, because these were all members of the ANC, fellow South Africans. And that was the end of my role. I was never a member of the tribunal which tried them. A tribunal was set up by the ANC to try them, and some of them were sentenced to death. And executed—it was a big number, about 18 or 19, I can't remember. I rushed back to Lusaka and said to the leadership: Stop the executions.

[Marais] Was this done with the knowledge of the NEC?

[Hani] I think...those who were on the tribunal were given terms of reference—I don't know what the terms were because I was busy trying to bring about the solution to this problem when the tribunal was set up. I was not part of the tribunal, some other people were brought into the tribunal. I went back to Lusaka and said to leadership: Stop the executions, do anything, sentence them, but don't execute them. The leadership, in all fairness, intervened and stopped the executions, but by that time a few of those comrades had been executed.

I have never in my life been in favour of execution, and capital punishment. I'm against capital punishment. So, had I been part of the tribunal, I would have been against the executions. I'm a soldier. I think we must fight, but once you defeat an enemy, I've never believed you must execute them. Do something else, punish them, because they're already defeated, at your mercy, if you like.

I'm not criticising that decision. I'm just coming with my own personal attitude. We had a duty to defend ourselves and recapture the camp, but once it was over it was my view that we should try them, sentence them, but not execute them.

[Marais] But this, apparently, was not necessarily a widely held view in the security apparatus?

[Hani] It was an isolated one. My view was a minority view. But when I presented it to the NEC, the leadership intervened and stopped the executions—I must point that out.

[Marais] If we look ahead: We know what the regime's security apparatus is capable of, what it has done to the opposition. These are people capable of great cruelty, 'good' at their jobs. And we take the experience of the security apparatus of the ANC, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], who have people capable of equal cruelty perhaps, also 'good' at their jobs. Is this the kind of combination that we want to serve a democratic South Africa [SA]?

[Hani] No. I think a new democratic state in this country will have to sit down and draw up a code of conduct of a security force to serve a democratic SA. I'm not convinced that those who served the National Party government in a brutal manner would be the best sort of people to continue the role of serving a democratic country.

Within the ANC, there are certain people—in my own view—who I would oppose as part of a new security force. I have my own experience, I know my own movement, I know their roles and their attitudes, and I would like a situation where a security apparatus is answerable to parliament. I would favour, for instance, a parliamentary committee to oversee the security apparatus.

Never again in this country should we give (unchecked) powers to the security. Because we know, in a number of countries, even the advanced bourgeois countries, how the security can stifle democracy. Those are not the best examples of democracy. Yes, the state should be defended against subversion, etc. But we should never allow a situation with a group of men and women only answerable to an individual minister, for instance. I would never accept trite answers like 'No, no, we are not going to answer in the interests of national security'. We know that sometimes this does happen, including in African countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique. In Mozambique, the security services degenerated and became feared by citizens.

I'm saying that organs of civil society and parliament should have the right to question the activities of the security. The security must not hide behind the president or the prime minister and refuse to be accountable to parliament and to be public. I'm aware of the fact that elements of the ANC, PAC and government will serve in

a new security apparatus, but there must be clear guidelines to avoid the sort of thing that happened to a very small extent in the ANC and a very large extent within the security forces of the regime.

Government Seeks 'Deadlock, Delay' at Codesa

MB1506094892 Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English for Jun 92 pp 7-9

[Article by Jeremy Cronin, South African Communist Party Central Committee member: "What Is De Klerk Up To?"]

[Text] All the signs are there. Since the whites-only referendum the regime has definitely launched itself on a zag. The latest evidence for this, as I write just a few hours after its ending, is Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2.

The first day of Codesa 2 saw the progressive forces seize the upper hand, with, as Chris Hani put it in his plenary speech 'the blame for the deadlock' being 'laid firmly at the door of the principal deadlocker—the South African government'. But this firm stand was somehow allowed to dissipate on the second day.

After a fine opening speech by Mandela, the second day droned on, with a few brief exceptions. There were all the ritualistic incantations about 'the spirit of Codesa', about us all being 'part of one large family', about our 'duty to our grand-children's children' and our 'tryst with destiny' (whatever that means). There were the endless incantations about 'hope from despair', until it became impossible to tell where the political interventions ended and the prayers began.

All of this psycho-babble served De Klerk very well. The balm of 'hope' repeated a thousand times, and the appeal to 'great leaders' and the 'need for vision' nearly made the deadlock fade away. The regime had come to Codesa wanting to slow down the progress of negotiations. But they could not afford to be seen doing this too blatantly. I think, at least partly on the second day, we allowed them to slip off the hook. They came close to getting what they wanted—prolongation without pain.

But if we allowed the regime to escape some of the public punishment it deserved at Codesa 2, the broader truth is that the regime has been strategically outmanoeuvred within the wider negotiation process. This is a point I will return to in a moment. But first the present deadlock.

In much of the media commentary on Codesa 2 attention has now focused on technicalities. Should there be a two-thirds, a 70 percent or 75 percent majority for passing the constitution in the constituent assembly? What powers over constitution-making, if any, should an upper house enjoy?

But important as these questions are, the focus upon them misses the point. If these had not been the issue of

deadlock, the regime would have found others. The truth is the government came to Codesa seeking deadlock and delay.

In Working Group 3, where I have been a delegate, the regime caucused its allies some three weeks ago. Some of them leaked this to us. They were told by the regime that De Klerk needed a 6 months delay.

There are a number of reasons for this. The first is that De Klerk feels he needs more time to run a National Party election campaign in the black areas. He cannot afford to lose his private army, the one at SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] headquarters at Auckland Park, quite yet.

Joe Slovo was one of the first, back in 1990, to warn that De Klerk had a sinister double agenda. Slovo has lately modified his view:

'If you look at the government's constitutional proposals presented to Codesa, you will see that there is no hidden agenda. The government quite simply and unabashedly wants to frustrate democracy, and it wants to cling on to an inordinate share of power, regardless of how South African voters may feel in any future non-racial election.'

It's exactly for this reason that Comrade Joe is impatient with those who practice, in his words, 'Sunday newspaper analyses' of the situation. These are 'analyses' that seek to uncover hawks and doves on the other side, and which pin hopes and strategies on doing everything, from our side, to strengthen their doves.

I think Comrade Joe is fundamentally right. But then again, the regime does seem to zig-zag. There do seem to be personalities on the other side who are rather more proponents of either the zigs or the zags.

What are we to make of all of this?

In a recent Centre for Policy Studies paper ('The Shapers of Things to Come? National Party [NP] Choices in the South African Transition') Steven Friedman offers some interesting reference points. His paper is based on interviews with key (but unnamed) National Party decision-makers.

Friedman's basic proposition is that the NP 'knows it cannot win a non-racial election, and of its hopes rest on a power-sharing arrangement with the "liberation" movements. But it also wants maximum influence in a joint government and believes it can achieve this only if it wins significant black voter support. This means that it must compete with "liberation" opponents at the same time as it seeks to share decisions with them.'

In short, the NP has a *single* strategy, but with potentially conflicting dimensions. It seeks to woo the ANC [African National Congress] into co-responsibility, into accepting the advantages of negotiations for power-sharing; but at the same time, partly in order to achieve the former objective, and especially to achieve it on its

own terms, the NP constantly seeks to weaken, divide and compete with the ANC.

To assert that there is a single strategy is not to deny that there are also divisions on the other side. Obviously, we need to understand personality differences, such as they are, and exploit them to our advantage if possible.

But even more importantly, we need to grasp that both the ziggers and the zaggers are part of a single, anti-democratic agenda designed to forestall, forever if possible, majority rule in our country.

As for the present, everything points to the regime emphasising the second (the weakening, dividing and competing) wing of its agenda. There has, for instance, been another horrific surge in violence, which fundamentally, destabilises the ANC-led alliance, and favours the regime and its friends. There is F.W.'s summit (the first since Inkathagate) with Buthelezi. And, above all, there is the regime's deliberate deadlock at Codesa.

As I have said, this deadlock is partly because De Klerk wants time to try to run an election campaign into the black areas. But there is a second reason for the Codesa deadlock.

Now I am not one of those desperately in love with Codesa. Men on pharmacy motor-bikes are productive workers. They deliver. Waiters and waitresses deliver. Mid-wives deliver. I am not sure if Codesa is remotely as useful as these professions.

Those who are passively waiting for Codesa to deliver, or who reject it 'because it can't deliver', are missing the point. Codesa is one among several sites of struggle. It is the combination of effects of many different struggles that will either result in democratisation of country, or a reversal.

To win the initiative from the regime at Codesa is, therefore, not to defeat it overall. But nor is success at Codesa simply irrelevant.

It is my view that the regime has not been able to use Codesa in the way that it had hoped. Yet, on the face of it, this is strange. The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and other critics of Codesa are certainly not wrong then they say it is unrepresentative in character. Every delegation is of equal size regardless of real support. Sixteen of the 19 delegations are either tricameral participants or the products of the bantustan system. Yet the regime has shown itself to be relatively inept on a terrain that could have been so favourable for them.

Again, why?

I think there are several explanations. Going into Codesa we knew we were up against an opponent seasoned in negotiations. The regime had certainly shown tactical cunning and expertise in its earlier bilateral negotiations with the ANC (the Groote Schuur, Pretoria and D.F. Malan meetings). These bilaterals were similar to the kind of diplomatic brokering of which Pretoria already

had considerable experience, amongst other things, from the Namibian and Angolan settlement.

But Codesa is rather different. It has public plenary sessions. With so many delegations, even in its closed working group meetings, it functions more like a parliament (a hung parliament), than like tight diplomatic wheeling and dealing.

Success at Codesa means constant broad front work with allies, potential allies and the downright wavering.

Related to this is the question of negotiating styles. The power that the ANC and its allies bring to Codesa is mass support plus the general justness and democratic character of our proposals. The power that the regime brings to the table is state (undemocratic state) power. These two very different kinds of power impact directly on negotiating styles.

The ANC and its allies have to negotiate more or less transparently. We have to try to take our constituency with us every step of the way. (Whether we are being entirely successful in this is open to question). But this is both the key to success for us, and the key pressure that operates upon us. We cannot negotiate with hidden cards up our sleeves. We cannot suddenly and abruptly change tack from one day to the next. Of course, there are matters of detail on which we may have to be flexible.

But we cannot and should not be flexible on the overall scenario. This means that we are unlikely to catch our opponents by surprise. By contrast, the regime is able to negotiate with relative cynicism. It can feint in one direction, only to change direction the next day.

Now that looks like an advantage, and in tight, elite diplomatic bargaining this poker card-game style would certainly have the edge.

But in the multi-party context of Codesa this style is completely inappropriate. In a situation which is all about winning friends and making allies, the poker game style simply confuses your own allies, let alone a broader constituency out there.

Consider lunch-times on days when all five working groups were meeting out at the (pompously named) World Trade Centre. On a busy day there were some 380 delegates and advisers. It was self-serve and then you sat yourself down as you pleased at any one of 40 odd tables.

Remarkably, you would hardly ever see NP and SA [South African] government delegates and advisers sitting with anyone but themselves. This was in stark contrast to virtually everyone else.

The example is anecdotal, but it illustrates my point. The regime is highly uncomfortable in the hurly-burly, give and take world of Codesa. Its own immediate allies are deeply suspicious of its zig tendencies. They are constantly fearful that they will be outflanked by what they imagine are regular bilateral contacts between the regime and the ANC.

The regime's natural allies are also highly resentful and extremely sensitive about their own origins in various puppet, third-class structures.

For a number of reasons, then, the ANC and its allies at Codesa have, in my view, emerged as politically dominant (I mean within Codesa, within this specific site of struggle). Notwithstanding the second day of Codesa 2, the fundamental reality is that it is the ANC-led alliance's negotiations scenario which has become absolutely hegemonic in the process. As late as last year the regime, Inkatha and others were rejecting outright any thought of an interim government or an elected constitution making body.

Now the Codesa consensus scenario is the two-stage transition process first publicised in the Harare Declaration, and since elaborated by the ANC-alliance. The regime and others have been forced to accept this framework. Their own scenarios have been swept off the table. But it is one thing to accept a framework, and another to accept its implications and its implementation.

The hoop is in place.

Whether, and when, De Klerk jumps though it is not particularly a function of Codesa processes. In fact, what is required now more than anything is all-round pressure on the regime, on both its ziggers and its zagers.

16 Jun Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB1606142992

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

ANC Confronts Government in Test of Strength—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 15 June in its page 6 editorial believes the African National Congress, ANC, mass action campaign starting with 70 rallies across the country on 16 June, "is not intended just to force the government to accept ANC constitutional demands, but also to bring it to its knees." The government is "seriously concerned" and that is why it has called up thousands of reservists "to stand by in case of trouble." "Unfortunately, what the ANC is doing is to confront the government in a test of strength. Since the ANC wants to bring the government to its knees, the government has no option but to face up to the ANC." "In the looming showdown, the government must win or this country will be doomed to years of turmoil."

THE STAR

Tensions in Country Running High—"Nothing illustrates more starkly our dangerous times than the police seizure of two coach loads of arms from train commuters bound for an Inkatha peace rally at the weekend," declares a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 16 June. "If this be peace, pray what is war? And nothing illustrates more starkly the touchiness of the political climate than the fact that the commuters

complained that they were 'humiliated' by being disarmed in public. Tensions are clearly running high. The fact that today, Soweto Day, has also been chosen to mark the beginning of 'mass action' means that the emotions linked to June 16 are being harnessed in the cause of a wider campaign. It might have been better had the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto shootings been reserved for dignified mourning, but that was not to be." "If today passes peacefully, it will be a tribute to all involved, and a candle for the future."

BUSINESS DAY

ANC, NP 'Interest in Whipping Up Hysteria'—A page 12 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 16 June notes the "surreal quality" of the mood surrounding the mass action campaign by the ANC alliance. "A clutch of mass meetings on June 16 (an annual event) is portrayed as the beginning of a cataclysm; foolish ANC threats to continue the campaign 'until the government has been forced from power' are interpreted at face value as a threat of revolution; a menacing gloss is placed on a military call-up; and National Party officials join in, warning of approaching Armageddon. It would seem that both the ANC and the National Party have an interest in whipping up the hysteria." "The reality is that the mass action campaign is designed primarily to reassure those on the left of the ANC alliance, particularly Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], that they have a place in the negotiations process; that they are not being abandoned by the negotiating elites." The NP will soon be "forced" from sole power, "but it has already conceded this—a transitional government was placed firmly on the agenda months ago. At the same time, the effects of the campaign on the ruling party's negotiating stance will be extremely limited. The government has lived through demonstrations and stayaways in the past, and will do so—perhaps uncomfortably—again."

CITY PRESS

Government 'Overreaction' to Mass Action Campaign—Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 14 June in a page 12 editorial states: "We do not know fully how the ANC alliance intends going about their planned mass action campaigns from next Tuesday [16 June]. Judging by past experience, we doubt that their activities are likely to endanger the security of the State." CITY PRESS believes the situation does not warrant the "overreaction by the government. If people want to stay away from work on Tuesday to remember those youngsters who died fighting apartheid, let them be free to do so without any threats from the government."

* Role, Objectives of Private Armies Surveyed

92AF0848A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
1 May 92 p 11

[Article by Francois Lotter: "Shadow Over Private Armies After Government's Decision"; first paragraph is BEELD introduction]

[Text] The government has just announced far-reaching measures against private armies and violence. Among other things, this will mean that anyone who participates in the direction or administration of such armies can be affected by the law. However, there are private armies and then there are private armies. Moreover, everyone does not agree that it is necessary to ban private armies. How much potential is there for private armies in South Africa? What is their true potential? And what is the position of various political groups on private armies? Francois Lotter reports.

Ms. Marlene van der Merwe of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, who recently conducted a thorough study on private armies in South Africa, believes that a distinction must be made whenever talking about private armies.

On the one hand, there are protective units that were founded solely to protect, without any aggressive intentions. On the other hand, there are private political armies and politicized self-defense units, which are politically motivated by ideological commitments.

It can be assumed with certainty that it was primarily the latter that President F.W. de Klerk had in mind when he announced that steps are being considered for banning private armies.

Once one has made this distinction, there are a large number of parties, movements, and organizations in South Africa with units that fall under the category of private political armies, and can be affected by the intended legislation.

They are the ANC's [African National Congress] Spear of the Nation (MK), the AWB's [Afrikaner Resistance Movement's] Iron Guard and Win Commando (formerly Aquila), the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the Azanian National Liberation Army (ANLA) of the Black Consciousness Movement, the Boer commando that is expected to become the military wing of the Boer Freedom Movement, the White Liberation Army, the Order of Death, the Boer Army, the Church of the Creator, and the Inkatha vigilantes involved in political violence.

These private political armies, some more than others, contribute to conflict and violence not as protective units, and constitute an integral part of the overhead power struggle in South Africa.

According to Ms. van der Merwe's research, a clear distinction can be made between private political armies and a country's armed forces, even though both are instruments in the quest for political objectives.

Private political armies are nothing more than political instruments in the hands of political parties, groups, or movements that are used by everyone in order to achieve one's own political objective.

Any private army in South Africa, be it a politicized self-defense unit or a pure protection unit, has the potential of not satisfying the provisions of the planned law, and can thus qualify for banning after enactment of the legislation.

However, the MK, the Iron Guard, the APLA, and the Inkatha vigilantes are currently in the spotlight and will probably be the first ones to come under fire. Still, not one of them believes that it does not have a right to survive under the current circumstances in South Africa.

It is also practically impossible to establish how many members each of these groups has. The MK has training camps abroad, while the AWB has its own training grounds in Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

On 3 October of last year, while he was still commander of the MK, Mr. Chris Hani said that it is an oversimplification of a complex problem to insist now, after the signing of the peace accord, that the MK be disbanded as a private army.

According to Mr. Hani, the MK came into being as the "army of the oppressed" in South Africa because the government had taken away all the democratic methods that could have been applied. The disbanding of the MK cannot be insisted upon until the negotiating process is complete and a democratic process has been created.

Although the ANC decided on 12 February 1991 that the MK would halt its violent campaigns, it still has the potential of applying such campaigns to the possible advantage of the ANC's political objectives.

The MK, which was founded in 1960 as the ANC's military wing after it became clear that the nonviolent campaign was not going to succeed, occupies a symbolic position. It is the spear of the nation that rose up against the white oppressors. The fact that the MK was a miserable combat force does not detract from this.

The AWB's Iron Guard is a potentially dangerous force which, like the MK, can show its dissatisfaction with the political situation in an unorthodox and violent manner.

The AWB has already threatened that the "revolution" will begin the moment that the government hands power over to the black majority. The AWB will then apply its own law and fight to preserve the country for the Boer nation, it says.

The APLA has earned controversy primarily through its slogan, "one settler, one bullet," as well as "one bullet, one little Boer" at the recent PAC congress. The PAC believes that apartheid cannot be eliminated through the reform process, but must be instead destroyed. In the process, all forms of "struggle" must be encouraged, with armed struggle being the most important one.

The Inkatha vigilantes, unlike the other so-called private political armies, are not a single organized group. They consist primarily of loose self-defense units.

Although these vigilantes cannot claim the same organizations as the other private armies, their potential as a political factor cannot be ignored, simply because they are linked to a political party and are certainly participants in the current violence.

In the days ahead, however, there will be a great deal more arguing about the right of each of these private armies to exist. The ANC in particular feels strongly about the survival of the MK.

According to Mr. Hani, the disbanding of the MK is linked to progress in negotiations. If enough progress has been made on the road to a democratic South Africa, then this can be considered. That will be when a democratic election is at hand.

The Youth League of the ANC has said in turn that if the government is thinking of banning the MK with the planned legislation, then it should prepare for resistance and conflict on the part of the black youth like never before.

Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche, the leader of the AWB, says that if the government bans the AWB's commandos and Iron Guard, then the AWB branches will have no choice but to function in secrecy.

According to Mr. Terre'Blanche, the AWB is not a private army, but rather a popular organization protecting the people "against the PAC's internationalist, communist army, which advocates a world state and is used by Satan."

Mr. Hernus Kriel, the minister of law and order, has said in turn that South Africa has a Defense Force and a Police Force, both of which are nonpartisan.

"Iron Guards, APLA's, and MK's have no place in this country, unless they intend to take over the government. And if that is their objective, then they have a big surprise coming. This government will not be taken over by private armies."

* Afrikaans, Others Proposed Official Languages

92AF0848D Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
8 May 92 p 9

[Article by Liesl Louw: "Tear Down the Afrikaans Language's Own Berlin Wall"; "Make Afrikaans a Non-Racial Marker of Human Identity"; first paragraph is BEELD introduction]

[Text] More and more people believe that English is going to be the official language under a new system, and that only then will minority languages be considered. Some Afrikaners also believe that they must give up Afrikaans as a sort of atonement for apartheid. Why is this necessary if Afrikaans is the language spoken by most people in this country? asks Professor Hans du Plessis of Potchefstroom in his book *En nou Afrikaans [And Now Afrikaans]*. Liesl Louw reports.

Afrikaans should remain an official language in the new South Africa. Based on its extent and also its functional vitality, it should retain its status next to other languages.

But in that case, Afrikaans must be redefined, separated from the burden of apartheid, and become a "dynamic, nonracial marker of human identity," believes Prof. du Plessis.

Afrikaans is the language that can best "speak out" on Africa, precisely because it was born of Africa. Afrikaans can become the prime means of communication for a South Africa after apartheid, provided that it is put on the negotiating table by Afrikaans-speakers right now.

Prof. du Plessis, the director of the writing school of the Afrikaans Language and Culture Association (ATKV) at Potchefstroom University (PU) and the author of numerous books on language, two volumes of poetry, and three novels, says quite bluntly: "I am sick and tired of being designated a political right-winger because I dare to be positive about Afrikaans."

"I accept the challenge of a South Africa in which I will no longer have exclusive authority; I accept a future language system in which my language is one of at least 11 equal partners. But I do not accept a system in which I must try to live my intellectual life in a foreign language."

According to Prof. du Plessis, there is a grave danger that here, as in Namibia, Afrikaans will simply disappear quietly from the constitution. Thus, Afrikaans people must see to it that this does not happen right now, in the transitional phase.

For example, many people are already beginning to send their children to English schools, because "English is going to be the only language, after all." Advertising firms say that they no longer need advertise in Afrikaans, and publishers are publishing less in Afrikaans, under the assumption that in the new South Africa Afrikaans will no longer have any status. Once a constitution is drawn up, people say, there is no further need for Afrikaans.

Afrikaans is the third biggest mother tongue in the country, and is the language that is spoken and understood by more people than any other language. Based on accepted standards of language planning, this alone could give Afrikaans a place in the future.

Afrikaans has also undeniably proven functional abilities.

It is the informal language in nearly every part of the country, "it is even the language of computer technology, the language of science, the language of the arts, the language of law, the language of parliament, and so on."

Still, as the "language of the oppressor," Afrikaans is unsuitable for a new system, in the eyes of many South Africans.

"Afrikaans encircled its achievements with the wagons of apartheid. And the wagon position hid Afrikaans'

incredible achievement as a language in such a way that now it is scarcely visible without the encirclement."

The "colonial thorns" clearly come to light in words such as "baas," "miesies," "kafferwerk," etc.

A term such as "NG [Dutch Reformed] Missionary Church" reflects the way in which the language was privateered from exclusive Afrikaner nationalism. "As I understand missionary work, it is the proclamation of the Word to the heathens...." says Prof. du Plessis.

Nevertheless, much has happened in recent times that has made Afrikaans one of the "vehicles of liberation."

"It is possible that President de Klerk and 2 February did more for Afrikaans than all the language struggle before that."

However, Afrikaans must first be redefined so that white Afrikaans, to which the traditional "cultured Afrikaner" has clung, will include all Afrikaans-speakers.

After all, the majority of Afrikaans-speakers belong to the working class—the Afrikaans farm worker in the Cape rural districts and the worker in the Cape Peninsula are preeminent examples of the people who must be included in the concept of the Afrikaans mother language community.

The redefinition must also bring with it a radical change in attitude—the tearing down of Afrikaans' own "Berlin Wall."

If people are committed to promoting the language simply for the sake of the language, and not to save "one's own white hide," then questions such as open schools will no longer matter. In that case, the only issue will be diversity based on language differences, not race.

But if Afrikaans is so vibrant and spoken by most people, then why do we need to insist on it remaining an official language?

Prof. du Plessis does not believe that Afrikaans simply must or will maintain its current position.

In the future, the government will no longer be able to finance "Die Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal" [The Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language] or help the South African Academy of Science and Art, as one of the possible 10 or so other academies. The constitution will also be unable to protect the use of Afrikaans in the media in the same way that it has done in the past, he says.

But if Afrikaans loses its constitutional protection, if people are prohibited from spontaneously using the language, then this will certainly impair it.

"The notion that Afrikaans will survive intact if it loses its official, national status is ridiculous; that Afrikaans can provide for itself if it does not have the right to full functional fulfillment is nonsense."

He proposes a language policy of four or at most five official languages, chosen on the basis of numerical strength and functionality. Such a system would be more practical than giving all 11 South African languages equal status.

English, Afrikaans, Zulu (and/or Xhosa), and Tswana should be recognized as official, national languages. Subsequently, it should be decided on a regional basis which one (or more) of them should be the official external language of the region in question for communication with the central authorities.

Furthermore, each region can decide on internal languages on its own.

However, it is up to the speakers of each separate language to present their case to the negotiating table, just as Afrikaans too must do right now.

Prof. du Plessis is positive about Afrikaans and its role in the future of the country.

If Afrikaans is separated from apartheid and color, it already seems "indispensable for a new nation through the mouths of all its users."

Angola

Three UNITA Dissidents Return to Luanda

MB1306171392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Paulo Chipilika, Tony da Costa Fernandes, and Miguel N'zau Puna, three leaders of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]-Democratic Reflection Tendency, arrived in Luanda this morning from Europe. In the Angolan capital, the UNITA dissidents will carry out activities aimed at holding a congress to democratize Jonas Savimbi's organization. At Luanda Airport, Tony Fernandes, spokesman for the UNITA-Democratic Reflection Tendency, briefed journalists on their objectives following their return.

[Fernandes] "First of all, we would like to greet the Angolan people. We still maintain the same determination that inspired us over the past 30 years of struggle to establish democracy in this country. Our return is within the framework of the implementation of the peace accords. There was no question of desertion. It was just a question of absence. Now that we have returned to the fatherland, we are determined to continue the fight toward implementing the accords for the establishment of peace and democracy. We would like to call on the Angolan people to have faith in victory because we shall have it soon."

Miguel N'zau Puna, another UNITA dissident general, said if the idea of holding a congress does not materialize, they will not fold their arms.

[Puna] "It will all depend on the development of the situation. Even if we fail to hold the congress, we shall not stop there."

General N'zau Puna also said that the UNITA-Democratic Reflection Tendency's project was presented both to the government and UNITA, within the framework of the Joint Political and Military Commission. He said his organization's leadership will be announced soon, adding that their return is not aimed at fighting UNITA.

[Puna] "Our return is not aimed at fighting UNITA. We experienced misunderstandings within UNITA at a given point. We have not abandoned UNITA, despite about four months' absence. We believe that the peace process and the Angolan people's reconciliation must continue. That is why we are back here to make our contribution, particularly after the visit by Pope John Paul, who said there should be no more war for the Angolan people."

[Unidentified reporter] "Does it mean that UNITA's democratization necessarily entails the replacement of Dr. Savimbi?"

[Puna] "This will depend. If they are open and sincere, we can sit down and discuss, [words indistinct] accusations and counter accusations. If we debate the issue and understand who is responsible for all these problems, I believe the congress will decide whether he should continue or another leader should be elected."

Miguel N'zau Puna also referred to the support that they enjoy in other UNITA circles.

[Puna] "You are fully aware that we were abroad. We were not idle. We visited the United States and a number of other countries. We carried out diplomatic activity which gave us guarantees and encouraged us to return."

On whether his tendency (identifies) itself with the government, Miguel N'zau Puna said:

[Puna] "Well, that is [words indistinct]. Is there any other instrument here in the People's Republic of Angola that protects the Angolan citizen? I have been accused of using a government passport. Who travels abroad from Angola without using a passport issued by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola? People who travel using other passports have arrangements with other foreign countries. There is a government decree that says that all citizens who wish to travel abroad, particularly politicians, can apply for a passport. It is within this framework that I have this right."

In conclusion, he spoke about the Cabindan situation.

[Puna] "We cannot run away from the Cabinda problem. It must be faced head on and realistically to find a solution to it. Accordingly, the Angolan political parties must understand that Savimbi is a problem."

'Expanded' UNITA Meeting Urged

MB1506100592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] The Democratic Reflection Tendency [TRD] group is still insisting that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] should hold an expanded conference in order to change the policies followed by Jonas Savimbi. Speaking at a news conference in Luanda, TRD coordinator Dr. Paulo Chipilika said:

[Begin Chipilika recording] We propose an expanded meeting which would deal with issues that have been exposed by General Tony da Costa Fernandes. I refuse to accept that such a meeting would conclude that whatever Fernandes and N'zau Puna have said were pure lies. That meeting would serve to prove certain facts, abuses, and arbitrary actions. We would not like to postpone this issue beyond the September elections because my ambition is to live in peace, democracy, and above all harmony. Under a system like that, one accepts that each citizen is free to express his views. [end recording]

Pena Denies Request

MB1606092092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] leadership has said it has not received any request from the Democratic Reflection Tendency [TRD] group concerning the holding of an expanded meeting within Jonas Savimbi's movement. UNITA official Salupeto Pena has said this is a time for important things such as the implementation of the peace accords, and not for minor matters.

[Begin Pena recording] The UNITA leadership has not received any request of the kind. Much more important than that, though, is the fact that UNITA has its own regulations and institutions. Its ordinary congresses are held every four years. The last such congress took place in 1990, so the next one will be held in 1994. Special congresses are summoned as the need arises. The Political Commission grants a mandate to the president to summon a special congress, and the president does so, but only when the Political Commission deems it necessary. This is not the case at this time. We have so many other problems, including the issues of the voter registration process and of creating the armed forces. In view of that, our minds are focusing on the implementation of the peace process. I can confirm receiving a letter sent to the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] in which protection was requested. They said they were coming to Angola, and they needed protection, so they asked the CCPM to follow up on the matter and see what it could do. That I can confirm, because I saw it within the framework of the CCPM operation. I saw nothing but that, though. [end recording]

Elias Salupeto Pena also warned the TRD about a possible legal proceedings in view of the fact that the TRD is using UNITA symbols.

[Begin Pena recording] We are not talking about the Bicesse Accords. In any part of the world, there are laws forbidding one party from using another party's symbols. What we do not know is whether they are a party or something else. What they are not is part of UNITA. Thus, we view their use of UNITA symbols as irregular and undesirable. Perhaps we will not even be able to stop. Perhaps we will have to open legal proceedings, or something of the kind, because we disagree fully. [end recording]

Puna, Fernandes News Conference

MB1606075892 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Report on a news conference by Miguel N'zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes, dissidents of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, in Luanda on 15 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Miguel N'zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes, dissidents of UNITA, said in Luanda

yesterday that Tito Chingunji and Wilson dos Santos were barbarously murdered in July 1991, and not in November.

[Puna] I am going to say something I have never told anybody. My friends here know it: I have not told anybody. The press asked me about it, yet I have said nothing to anybody. Seeing that I am in Luanda, though, I am going to tell you the truth: UNITA is lying when it claims the two men died in November of last year. UNITA is lying. Tito Chingunji and Wilson dos Santos were killed toward the end of July, after a meeting with President Savimbi. He said at the time that, apart from Tito, he could forgive anyone in UNITA for committing a crime. He did not mention Wilson, he only referred to Tito. One week went by, and President Savimbi called me. I am saying this to the people of Angola in the name of God: I fought. They say now that I was no soldier, that I did nothing, that I never went to the war front. They can say that, but the true UNITA militant knows.

When President Dr. Savimbi called me, he said: Puna, Tito and Wilson have been murdered, but I do not believe it. You are going to (?see the grave digger) to verify whether it is true. That is where my complicity lies. I followed my orders, and I approached the (?grave digger). I told him: You are going to unearth those bodies because I have been given orders to see them. This happened in August. I went with the (?the grave digger) to dig up those bodies, and I found Tito and Wilson in the same hole. Their heads were shattered, possibly by stick or ax blows. Thus, when I told the Angolan people and the international media that the bodies had to be exhumed, I was no fool. If I had killed those people, and thrown them into the river, would I now assume responsibility before the international community? Would I now say that those people...[pauses] let us go and exhume those corpses. We must have an international commission so we can go and unearth those bodies. If I said this, that is because I knew they had been buried. Now, they are probably not buried any more. In view of what I said, they must have unearthed those bodies already. I know how UNITA operates. They have unearthed them and done something else about it. What I want to convey to you, though, is that this happened even before August of last year. They perished before August. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Tony da Costa Fernandes and Miguel N'zau Puna returned from Rome yesterday and granted a news conference in Luanda. They said that UNITA continues to violate human rights. They expressed concern about the lives of 16 families in Jamba, and more than 60 people who came from Cabinda Province. According to them, those people have never been seen since their escape.

[Fernandes] I do not wish to give names. I know of 16 families who are in danger in Jamba. I do not wish to give names. I am, however, going to give the names (?of unfortunate people) [words indistinct] seeing that this game has begun, we are going to end it. This is unfortunate. Through contacts we still have within UNITA, we

have learned about the uncertain whereabouts and future of all those people who came from Cabinda, like I did. I am going to give their names here, because when I left Jamba for the last time this year, I met with most of those whose names I am going to mention, and they were alive, active, and in good health. Today, no one can say where they are: I begin with Joao Luis Cafe, brother of our sister Mambo Cafe, who used to work in the Jamba car park; Alfredo Barros Mingas Mavinga, who was in the area of Luangundo; Jose Ledo da Costa, who worked for the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel [Vorgan], and we have heard he was transferred to Cabinda, but our searches in Cabinda have allowed us to conclude the man is not there; (Andre Filipe Chinopolo), a military instructor who cannot be found; Jose Comprido, who worked for the arms logistics section in Licua, and Ana Mari Funzi, his wife who was a student—nothing is known about their whereabouts; Andre David Bica, a student in Luengue; Francisco Bioca, a student in Luengue; Inacio Sozinho dos Santos, a student in Luengue; (Goma Mabiela), a soldier in in the Canje area of Jamba; Manuel Alexandre Barros, a soldier in the Canje area of Jamba; Ambrosio Jose, a soldier in the Canje area of Jamba; Joao Bilungana, a student in the Canje area of Jamba; Joao Monteiro Fernando, a student in the Canje headquarters, Jamba; (Catarina de Jesus Queique), a student in Jamba; UNITA Cabinda Provincial Secretary Francisco Filipe, whose whereabouts are not known—he was in Cabinda, but he cannot be traced now; Joao Evangelista de Oliveira Nzango, the son of Cabinda Deputy Commissar Nzango, who worked in the Jamba office of the Revolutionary Student Union of Free Angola—he has disappeared.

Kindly note I am not saying they are dead. I am saying they have disappeared. Our contacts cannot find these Cabindans whose names I have been citing. Other names: (Avelino Queique), who was a translator for Vorgan, and who has disappeared; Madalena Mado, a student—she has not been contacted; Lieutenant (Jose Titi Mabiela), a colored man whose job it was to repair weapons, and who has disappeared along with his wife and six children; we have also lost contact with Odilia Lembe, the wife of Lembe, and her six children; even the son of my niece Palmira, who is residing here in Luanda, the son, and nephews Lelo, Dinho, and Toto, whom we wish to see; former Vorgan Director Raul Manuel Danda, who has disappeared along with Lina, his wife, and their children; Jacques Filipe Cabongue, who has disappeared along with Cachava, his wife, and Muti, his son. We have also lost contact with Major Rafael, who was political commissar for the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola in Cabinda Province; Jose Quibungo, an agent in the UNITA Secret Service, who has disappeared; (Maria Augusta Queique) and her six children; Alexandrina da Conceicao Lhambo, who is her niece, and with whom we have been unable to establish contacts. We have lost contact with 14 soldiers of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [name indistinct] faction, who used to be in Jamba; Samba Pequeno Puna, my colleague's son, with whom we have

no contact—he stayed because he was not in Luanda at the time of our escape; Filipe, nickname Maluco, who was a soldier in Canga, near Luengue—he has disappeared; Communal Secretary Carlo dos Anjos Franque—we have no news about him; Captain Alexandre of the Joint Verification and Control Commission verification team, connected with the Joint Political and Military Commission—we know nothing about him; five soldiers who were undergoing training, the last five to have come from Cabinda to undergo training, and I do not have their names, I only know they were five—they are no longer undergoing their training, and no one knows their whereabouts.

Ladies and gentlemen, all those people must be found with the help of the Angolan Government, the media, the United Nations, and nongovernmental organizations. This is a critical time. It is a serious time. They are Angolan people like us, and they deserve our support.

UNITA's Ben-Ben on FALA-FAPLA Meeting

MB1506145192 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Excerpts] The General Staffs of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] and the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] met in Lubango, Huila Province, 13 June. The chiefs of the two armies which have been fighting each other for the past 16 years discussed troop demobilization and military instability caused by government authorities, among other issues. The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] army delegation was led by Chief of General Staff General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben. The meeting was also attended by the heads of delegations from UNITA and the government to the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM], Engineer Salupeto Pena and Gen. Franca Ndal, respectively. At the end of the meeting, Gen. Ben made a statement to Mario Nelito, correspondent of the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Ben-Ben] This was the ninth meeting held by the FALA-FAPLA General Staffs. The eighth meeting which took place in Huambo Province decided that the ninth meeting should take place here in Lubango in order for us to be directly acquainted with the [word indistinct] situation. The meeting equally assumed a very different and special nature in that it was attended by representatives from UNITA and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] at the CCPM, namely Engineer Salupeto Pena and Gen. Ndal.

We discussed a series of problems which directly affect our General Staffs, notably the issue of the Angolan Armed Forces [FAA]. We shall have to work very hard to be able to train FAA troops. What is more, we need to work hard to be able to demobilize troops and provide them with clear guidelines. A demobilized soldier should have guidelines in order to survive and to be able to

understand what he can do after leaving the army, how he can contribute as an individual and as an element [words indistinct].

We also had the opportunity to listen to the Joint Verification and Control Commission [CMVF] regarding the 20,000 men allegedly set aside as a reservist army in Jamba. After carrying out its work, the CMVF presented a report which made it clear that there was no such an army. It never existed. Obviously, we could not tell them that they should not go and investigate. It was necessary for them to investigate. After an accusation it was necessary for someone to investigate and present a report. We are happy with the report. There could be other reports by UNITA accusing the MPLA or the MPLA accusing UNITA. All the same, this should not divert us from our main concern which is to truly contribute toward implementing the peace accords, training the FAA, and demobilizing troops to be able to hold elections in September. The September elections will accord the Angolan people the first opportunity to freely and democratically choose their destiny and their (?government) [words indistinct]. In brief, I can say that the meeting took place in a very warm atmosphere, particularly because of the presence of our representatives at the CCPM. For us, it was a very great experience, particularly because the CCPM, the [words indistinct], and the CMVF are able to hold discussions and convey to us what they think should be done.

[Nelito] Another important and relevant issue raised at the meeting is the riot police established by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

[Ben-Dien] [Words indistinct] this police, I clearly said at the meeting that the new police, the so-called riot police, have been established to counter UNITA. I am against this move. I am against this move because we want to clean up the police image. What is more, as we continue to train the FAA forces, the police power must be reduced. I do not agree that there should be [words indistinct] in the streets, while we are demobilizing and disarming troops, there should be an (?army) in the streets. Even the Angolan people do not agree with that. Every police action, be it public or riot police, [sentence incomplete as heard]

For example, I would like to take this opportunity to say that following what happened in Luanda, we issued a communique. This communique was the first thing that we presented at the meeting. [Words indistinct] were arrested. They include [words indistinct], Colonel Sopite, Deluando [words indistinct] he is in the police representing [words indistinct]. There is no single document that [words indistinct] the UNITA men. I said at the meeting: I can be arrested but if I am arrested, that will clearly and immediately signal the resumption of war.

Accordingly, if the government fails to defend the most important aspects that would enable us to feel we are a political party exercising our role within a democracy, if the government continues to operate as a sole party, then

the agreements are practically in danger. This is the message that I would like to convey.

I am also aware of a message issued by the MPLA armed forces which stressed that (?there is no possibility of war). Between peace and war, what is in between is just confusion [words indistinct] the war as a strategy [words indistinct] the same strategy. What is more, we would like to clearly say that if confusion, intrigue, intimidation, and imprisonment are the prelude to war, we are ready to answer [words indistinct] each part is trying to defend [words indistinct] because I have a problem. At this time, I have troops in confinement areas. I have troops in regional groups. I have demobilized troops and I have troops [words indistinct]. Accordingly, it is not possible to [words indistinct] each one can reply depending on its [words indistinct].

Whatever the situation, we want a clear undertaking from the People's Republic of Angola to avoid further acts of provocation through the police, because through the FAPLA General Staff [words indistinct] that in principle there is no strategy to resume war. We responded to this with every respect, with every [word indistinct] and with every [words indistinct] those who waged war for the past 16 years must maintain the same respect, the same [word indistinct] to consolidate peace and respond to the present situation.

What we feel is that the people who speak of war today are the people who have always remained in offices, they are people who [words indistinct] in Mavinga, Caiundo, and northern front. That is not true. If there is war today, this war will take place in the cities. Who will be killed? Civilians will be killed. Accordingly, our efforts are geared toward avoiding another war. That is UNITA's strategy. That is Comrade President Savimbi's guideline. But we feel that the government, through its police, is directly trying to intervene [words indistinct] troops. That is why our communique was viewed seriously. It had to be viewed seriously because we do not accept that a FALA officer, noncommissioned officer, or soldier should be arrested. We do not accept that. We can respond well or badly. This time we responded with a communique. The next time, we can respond more strongly. That is the message that I personally wanted to convey. Thank you. [end recording]

UNITA Official Criticizes Minister Kassoma

MB1306123692 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Territorial Administration Minister Paulo Kassoma has said the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is hindering the extension of the state administration to UNITA-controlled areas. UNITA's Engineer Salupeto Pena denied those allegations yesterday. Branding Minister Kassoma a liar and calling the government incompetent, Salupeto Pena added that the process of extending state control could meet its deadline.

[Begin Pena recording] Well, we believe that is very irresponsible, first because the process of extending state administration involves both sides. We are part of the process, and we are doing it through the media. [sentence as heard] Thus, this is already irresponsible behavior on the part of Minister Kassoma.

Second, the Angolan people should not be the victims of the government's irresponsibility and incompetence. The National Electoral Council has recommended to the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM]—seeing that the two sides are represented in the CCPM—to conclude the extension of state administration by 20 June. How is it that, without consulting anyone, Minister Kassoma unilaterally decides that it is not possible to conclude the extension of territorial administration by 20 June? Either he is seeing clearly what the implementation of the peace accords means, given that the process of extending administration is part of those accords, or he is so irresponsible that he cannot see. Thus, either he is a leader or he is not and, if he is a leader, he should behave as one. [end recording]

Salupeto Pena says the extension of state administration has not been fully implemented due to government-related problems.

[Begin Pena recording] The extension of state control has not been fully effective precisely because the government is not sending the administrators into the relevant areas. Minister Kassoma has spoken about nine districts. To begin with, that is not true. Today, there are four in Cuando Cubango Province. He mentions two districts in Uige Province: That is yet another blatant lie. It was on 8 June, just recently, that the [words indistinct] group [words indistinct]. He mentions Quirima in Malange Province, but the administrator has already been there. He left purely and simply because there are no adequate conditions for him to stay. The administrator did not even receive logistical assistance from the provincial government, and that is what is happening in Cazombo and Cangamba, in Moxico Province. The administrators were assigned to those places but they lack logistical support from the government. We have even had reports that the administrator assigned to Cangamba is selling his clothes in order to buy food. So, the government is to blame for it. It cannot be said that UNITA is responsible. [end recording]

Kassoma Reacts

MB1406131792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Territorial Administration Minister Paulo Kassoma says he has no intention of unilaterally delaying the extension of state administration. Reacting to statements made by Engineer Salupeto Pena, the minister said that he is among those most interested in seeing that the exercise ends on 20 June as requested by the National Electoral Council [CNE]. Therefore, the minister added, what Salupeto Pena has said is false.

[Begin Kassoma recording] I was the one who proposed that the CNE should recommend to the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] and the government that the extension of state administration be completed by 20 June. So, I am among those most interested in seeing that the extension of state administration is completed by 20 June. I am interested as a party involved (?in this exercise). So, what Salupeto Pena has said is false. [end recording]

Kassoma said that Salupeto Pena should pay attention to the five proposals that the Territorial Administration Ministry has made to the CCPM to ensure that the electoral process is fulfilled.

[Begin Kassoma recording] If those proposals are not approved by the CCPM, there will be difficulties regarding the extension of state administration, the registration of voters, and the holding of elections. He should bear in mind that we do not subscribe to the view that what is stated within the CCPM is meaningless. We are not used to that. At least, that is not my way of dealing with things. I like to abide by what I say. I urge Engineer Pena to [words indistinct] so that he assists the government, and abides by the government's (?plans) [words indistinct] to effectively democratize the country, and create conditions so that in September we may have the first free and fair elections in Angola. [end recording]

FNLA Official Denies Accord on Coalition

MB1306114992 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Andre Paulo, member of the Angola National Liberation Front [FNLA] Political Bureau, has said that, contrary to what the JORNAL DE ANGOLA newspaper reports today, no accord in principle has been reached for a coalition involving his party, the Democratic Renewal Party, and the Front for Democracy. The National Opposition Council member parties are studying the principles on which to form their coalitions in the future. FNLA Political Bureau member Andre Paulo noted that everything JORNAL DE ANGOLA wrote was premature.

[Begin recording] [Paulo] We believe a statement of that nature is premature, because we can categorically state there is no coalition yet. We also told JORNAL DE ANGOLA that only the upcoming national party conference can grant powers to the FNLA Political Commission to form a coalition with another party. That is all we can say in this regard.

[Unidentified reporter] You mean there is nothing concrete on possible coalitions?

[Paulo] The coalition JORNAL DE ANGOLA is talking about does not yet exist. [end recording]

Commentary Says MPLA 'Afraid of Elections'

MB1506135992 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1142 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Unattributed commentary on the "Free Fatherland" program]

[Text] Dear companions of the struggle, supporters, and Angolan people at large: Those who provoke the war are afraid of elections, and it is the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] that is afraid of elections.

Some 200 vehicles acquired by the worthy National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] party abroad are being kept at Lobito Harbor by the MPLA government chieftains. As September approaches, they are getting both panicky and very envious in view of the knowhow UNITA has displayed ever since it returned to the cities. The sight of the Tredia vehicles whetted the appetite of of the Futungo de Belas Palace leaders, who want everything for themselves and nothing for others, especially if they are the people.

The [word indistinct] vehicles attract respect. In the cities today, they are other symbols of freedom, change, and popular opposition to the regime that has thrown the country into chaos. The vehicles kept at Lobito Harbor were intended only to help consolidate peace, in the specific sense that UNITA wants to turn into a political party. They were also intended to help conditions at FALA troop confinement points. This and other concomitant deeds on the part of Mr. Zedu's [Jose Eduardo dos Santos] government justifiably allow us to conclude that same government is cooking up something that smells of treason.

Companions of the struggle, fearless FALA soldiers, therefore, we cannot stop being vigilant [words indistinct] at this time, and with the political situation we are experiencing daily. We must keep our eyes well open, so that the reactionaries will not get their way. That is what we swear. We shall never return to the jungle. Our country's cities, towns, and villages belong to all Angolan people. They were built by our grandparents and our parents. Should anyone provoke war, that someone must be punished even in the cities by all Angolan people, because that someone will be left standing alone.

* EEC Development Projects in Huila Noted

92AF0867A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 May 92 p 3

[Text] The current status of the projects being financed by the EEC in the province of Huila (the southern part) will be analyzed this week in Luanda by the provincial governor of Huila, Dumilde Rangel, and the EEC's ambassador to Angola, Carlos Gil.

Dumilde Rangel told ANGOP [Angola Press Agency] that the EEC is financing a project of small and medium-sized companies in Huila that is scheduled to run for two years. He did not reveal the amount of money involved.

He stated that this project is based on the technical and professional furtherance of managers of both state-run and private companies, given the country's new economic phase to which Huila "is strongly committed."

Other projects referred to by Dumilde Rangel are summed up in the rehabilitation of the Tchivinguiro Middle Agrarian Institute, to which the EEC has provided more than 750,000 ECU's [European Currency Units] (one ECU is equal to 745 new kwanzas.)

The EEC is likewise financing a Sectoral Import Program, through which it grants material support to the local agricultural sector, specifically for the rehabilitation of the Neves Dam, which is located in the Municipality of Umpata, and its respective irrigation canal.

However, ANGOP has learned from an official source that, through 1991, the EEC has granted \$42 million (\$1 is equivalent to 550 new kwanzas) that has been used to furnish materials and agricultural equipment to industries in Huila.

According to the same source, the EEC has established a technical assistance program for the period 1990-1995 to the middle institutes at Tchivinguiro (Huila) and Makarenko (Luanda), the total cost of which is around \$21 million.

According to the source, rehabilitation of the highway between Namibe, Lubango, and Matala, the amount of which has not yet been determined, is noteworthy among the projects being financed by the EEC.

Medical Center

Huila's provincial center of traditional medicine treated 300 patients during the past trimester of the current year.

The center's official in charge, Martinho Hilario, said that the majority of the patients were suffering from genital infections, bilharzia, acute anemia, tuberculosis, and acute diarrhea.

Compared with the last three months of 1991, he stated, that institution recorded an increase of 100 patients who were suffering from gynecological problems, acute diarrhea, and bilharzia.

Since its founding three years ago, the center of traditional medicine has cured 4,000 patients, who came from Huila, Cunene, Namibe, Luanda, and Benguela.

According to Martinho Hilario, the center will open field clinics in Cunene and Namibe during the course of this year.

For its part, Huila's provincial delegation of justice has deposited 8,594,000 new kwanzas into the General State Budget during the first trimester of the current year.

According to a report from the above-mentioned delegation, this amount is the result of the work of the courts, conservatories, identification, and the public registry.

The report further indicates that, during the same period, the organization has deposited 4,034,281 new kwanzas resulting from the collection of fines for various crimes.

The document stresses that the lack of transportation has made it difficult to carry out tasks in this sector.

* France To Supply New Forces With Mirages

92AF0867C Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese
8 May 92 p 3

[Article by I.O.: "French Promise Contract for Mirages"]

[Text] The French have kept themselves on the frontline with regard to contacts with Angola. According to several sources, France has practically guaranteed the contract to supply the future single army, particularly with regard to replacing Soviet MiG airplanes with Mirages. The contract, which, according to reliable sources, is to be signed only after the elections, also covers military equipment for the army.

This operation would free France from the excess conventional equipment that would have to be destroyed under the aegis of the disarmament program among the great powers.

In this regard, some sources state that it probably was not by chance that the two UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] dissidents headed for Paris when they decided to abandon Jamba.

"That is where channels to Luanda are more open," they explained, stating that it also was not by chance that Lisbon was the stage for the outcome of the attack on UNITA, to which the Portuguese Government supposedly closed its eyes.

* Van Dunem Discusses Elections, UNITA

92AF0871A Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese
8 May 92 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Pedro van Dunem by Isabel Oneto; place and date not given: "Van Dunem: Absent an Electoral Census, There Will Be No Elections in Jamba"]

[Text] Angola is preparing to begin counting its eligible voters, so that the two elections—legislative and presidential—can be held on the scheduled dates: 29 and 30 September. In an interview granted to O JORNAL, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pedro Van Dunem declares that his government regards this as "a fundamental question," which if not resolved could make voting impossible in those areas controlled by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in the event that UNITA continues to refuse to open these areas to government personnel. As for the visit of

Portuguese President Mario Soares, Van Dunem explains that no hotel accommodations were available for the presidential delegation.

[Oneto] Why did Luanda postpone the visit of President Mario Soares?

[Van Dunem] We have many difficulties of a material and logistic nature that do not allow us much flexibility from the standpoint of creating the conditions for an appropriate reception of a delegation as important to our country as that of President Mario Soares—a delegation that we regard as extremely important precisely because of its objectives and the results we expect from it.

[Oneto] What exactly do you expect from this visit?

[Van Dunem] We expect a strong message of reconciliation—a message of peace for the human spirit—that will spontaneously mobilize the entire Angolan population behind the announced objectives.

[Oneto] But President Jose Eduardo dos Santos—faced with the possibility that Mario Soares's visit to Angola would be scheduled for after September—asked that the visit be made now. Why did you insist?

[Van Dunem] I should like to explain that it is we who are most interested in this visit by the Portuguese president to Angola, if we take into consideration those aspects that I have mentioned, namely, the message that Dr. Mario Soares will bring to our country, to our people. In the meantime, however, the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] party congress was postponed and rescheduled for 7 to 9 May. This was a problem that arose as a consequence of the way the situation evolved. At the time we originally scheduled the presidential visit, these problems had not taken shape. It was a question of options. The party congress will be attended by 700 delegates, and if you include the guests, the total attendance will be approximately 1,000. The hotels—which are few in number—will be completely full. According to the schedule, only 24 hours would elapse between the end of the congress and the beginning of President Soares's visit. We could not even guarantee accommodations for the presidential party.

[Oneto] The visit was postponed until the end of June. Do you confirm that date?

[Van Dunem] At this moment I am not confirming any date. New dates were proposed by the Portuguese side, and we shall now study them. We presented a counter-proposal, which unfortunately does not fit into to President Mario Soares's schedule.

Chipenda's Return

[Oneto] It was claimed that the upcoming MPLA party congress would be the "congress of the reunification of the Angolan family," with the return of certain important figures such as Costa Andrade and Chipenda. Has this expectation been confirmed?

[Van Dunem] It will indeed be a congress of readjustment. I should point out that in 1977 the MPLA constituted itself as a labor party, a selective party, that set forth certain rules of procedure, according to which many of the veteran militants of the movement were not eligible for membership. After a quite profound analysis of this situation and of the political transformations that necessarily dictated ideological changes in the party, we reached the conclusion that all those who already belonged to the MPLA—and also all those who in this phase are in agreement with our program—should find a way to be incorporated into the party and reflect all these currents in the party leadership.

[Oneto] Do you confirm the return of some "historic" members?

[Van Dunem] Daniel Chipenda, Costa Andrade, and other personalities can of course be proposed by the membership for inclusion in the party leadership.

Simultaneous Elections

[Oneto] With regard to the elections, has it already been decided that the legislative elections will take place simultaneously with the presidential election?

[Van Dunem] For all practical purposes, a decision has already been taken relative to holding the two elections simultaneously. The UN organs that have jurisdiction believe that primarily for considerations of time and secondly for financial reasons, it would be very difficult to hold separate elections. I believe there will be no alternative other than to hold the elections simultaneously.

[Oneto] Has the National Election Board been created?

[Van Dunem] Within the next few days it will take office and begin its work.

[Oneto] It is said that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos may appoint the lawyer Onofre Martins Santos as director general of the Board. Can you confirm this?

[Van Dunem] I know nothing about it.

[Oneto] How will the electoral census be carried out?

[Van Dunem] Under the terms of the Bicesse Accords, the electoral census must be carried out in accordance with a comprehensive schedule that was established. We are relatively behind schedule, but the Ministry of Territorial Administration has already decided that the census should be initiated on 15 May.

[Oneto] How will the census be carried out in areas controlled by UNITA, particularly in Jamba?

[Van Dunem] I would invite the UNITA representatives to comment on this question. We would in fact like UNITA to be able to open up not only Jamba, but all other areas under its control to implement these actions that are now being taken toward the goal of holding the elections. The electoral census is a fundamental step

without which it would be very difficult to hold elections in these areas, and I do not know if it would even be possible.

[Oneto] Aren't talks being held with UNITA in this connection?

[Van Dunem] The talks were concluded in Bicesse, and the Bicesse Accords are very clear on this subject.

[Oneto] But there have to be talks, even if they are informal.

[Van Dunem] Well, we have talked. The government has held bilateral meetings, both within the Joint Political and Military Commission and within the framework of the government's contacts with UNITA, to deal with these matters.

Difficulties of the Armies

[Oneto] The Bicesse Accords provide for the creation of a single army, but there are indications of some resistance on both sides, and Angola is in danger of winding up with three armies....

[Van Dunem] That interpretation is not correct. We have made a very great effort to achieve the objectives agreed on at Bicesse. We experienced some problems in connection with quartering the troops. We had logistical problems, and we had difficulty keeping the soldiers inactive. As a result, in certain circumstances many individuals had to leave their temporary quarters, although without separating themselves from the service. Consequently, the data presented sometimes indicate that the level of quartering of the government troops is quite low and at a level below that of UNITA.

[Oneto] What happened on UNITA's side?

[Van Dunem] UNITA presented specific numbers in relation to its troops, but they do not correspond to the real numbers. In the first place, I must say that after the signing of the Bicesse accords, UNITA undertook a forced recruiting of personnel. It also had paramilitary groups that it utilized during the period of the war and sent to the various cantonments with other elements of its population, including women and children—to the detriment of the authentic regular forces under its command. These paramilitary groups were quartered together with other groups that were, shall we say, "imprisoned" in the various localities and sent to the cantonments. It is these groups that make up the 90 percent of UNITA's military personnel that are the subject of daily comment. I believe we still have the opportunity at present to overcome the difficulties that arise and that the Angolan Armed Forces can be created in accordance with the terms of the Bicesse accords.

[Oneto] Can you confirm that negotiations with France for the supply of equipment to the Armed Forces—and in particular Mirage aircraft for the Air Force—are taking place and are in an advanced stage?

[Van Dunem] This matter is the object of very specific negotiations in which I am not involved.

Negotiating Over Cabinda

[Oneto] What role have you assigned to the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola] in this process, and how important is that role for the formation of a stable government?

[Van Dunem] We would like all Angolan political organizations to be able to make an effective contribution to the process of ensuring stability and implementing the actions taken in connection with the democratization of the nation. Although I do not know if it will be in a position to do so, I believe the FNLA can play an important role in achieving the objectives we are pursuing.

[Oneto] Has a solution been found yet for the Cabinda question?

[Van Dunem] At this moment the government is trying to find a plan to solve the Cabinda problem. We believe we can find one within the framework of relative autonomy, the extent of which will be determined by the factors that will be the object of negotiation by the concerned parties. I do not think the solution will be complete separation. That would be the least adequate solution.

* Van Dunem on Aspects of Foreign Relations

92AF0865B Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 9 May 92 p 12

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Pedro van Dunem by Jose Antonio Santos; place and date not given]

[Text] Luanda and Pretoria will be establishing diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level as soon as an interim government is formed in South Africa, according to a statement made to DIARIO DE NOTICIAS by Angolan Foreign Affairs Minister Pedro Van Dunem (Loy).

In an exclusive interview with this newspaper, the minister indicated that this condition stemmed from a UN resolution that was later adopted by the OAU [Organization for African Unity] and the international community. According to him, this is an essential condition for the elimination of all types of barriers that still exist, including economic and political sanctions.

"Once the interim government is in place in South Africa, apartheid will be abolished, and then we will be in a position to establish full diplomatic relations with South Africa," Pedro Van Dunem said. He pointed out that the current status of relations between Luanda and Pretoria is that both governments have delegations operating in the respective capitals.

Creating a Modern, Strong Angola

Pedro Van Dunem said that one of the focal points of the foreign policy advocated by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] is to "create a

modern, strong Angola from an economic, social, and cultural standpoint and to work towards the overall development of mankind in all its most varied aspects." In this connection, "Angola does not intend to become a major power or to play the role of a major political or economic force."

Pedro Van Dunem went on to say that what they wanted was to "become part of a new context that will enable us to express to the international community our views regarding the solution of the major problems of concern to mankind and to make our contribution towards resolving economic, social, cultural, and political issues."

According to the minister, Angola has always shown a desire and interest in having relations with all countries of the world, and with this in mind, he said that it was now possible to establish full diplomatic relations with Israel and South Korea.

This diplomatic move by Luanda is especially important because Israel is one of the three countries in the world, along with the United States and South Africa, that until quite recently had not recognized the Angolan government.

Angolan-U.S. Relations Facing "Complicated Process"

Despite the fact that the two countries have now exchanged delegations, Pedro Van Dunem acknowledged difficulties in relations with the United States and indicated that it will be a "complicated process."

He said: "At one point, the United States got the idea in its head that it could not establish diplomatic relations with Angola." For Pedro Van Dunem, "there are absolutely no reasons whatsoever that could justify the U.S. position not to formalize diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Angola." And he explained: "One of the arguments was that Angola is a communist country. But the leading communist country—the USSR—had diplomatic relations with the United States and even enjoyed preferential status in some areas, despite the fact that the two were adversaries in the cold war. So this is no argument to explain why the United States does not have diplomatic relations with Angola."

Imposition of the "Linkage"

According to Pedro Van Dunem, "the history of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of Angola during this period of time was characterized by two basic vectors. The first was U.S. imposition on Angola of a kind of 'linkage' as a requirement for moving on to the next stage in our relations. The second vector was the imposition on Angola of concepts. Thus, during this entire time the Angolan

government had to go from concept to concept so that it could move to the next stage in the relationship between the two countries."

Yet, Pedro Van Dunem maintains "that despite all the 'linkages' and concessions made by the Luandan government, the United States never formalized relations with the People's Republic of Angola."

In this regard, Pedro Van Dunem recalled statements made by Herman Cohen during the U.S. under-secretary of state's recent and latest trip to Luanda. "During his stay in Angola, he planted the seeds for establishing a 'new linkage' by announcing that Washington would normalize its relations with the government that will result from the elections, provided that government observes human rights."

Pedro Van Dunem (Loy) said that he was surprised by that statement, particularly since "initially, the first condition imposed by the United States and announced by Herman Cohen himself before beginning to look into the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries, was for us to announce the withdrawal of Cuban troops and to put the first Cuban on a plane."

"Things were progressing. All the Cubans had left. Then, they wanted a reduction in the internal conflict. That the internal conflict has been reduced is a fact. Now, it is only after the elections. The elections are four months away, and now they are telling us that it will happen when the new government is elected and on condition that it respect human rights."

Therefore, the Angolan foreign minister concluded, "a new 'linkage' has been introduced, and, if the MPLA wins the elections, they will have to find arguments to support allegations of violations of human rights, and then, full diplomatic relations will not be established."

Human Rights Investigation to Open

When asked whether the current government in Luanda was prepared to respond to or facilitate an investigation into observance of human rights throughout Angolan territory, as proposed by Shaun McCormick, director of the International Strategic Research Center in the United States, and to be conducted by the International Red Cross, Amnesty International, and the Africa Watch organization, under the aegis of the United Nations, Pedro Van Dunem was categorical: "We are prepared to do that, and we have already said so."

He indicated, however, some skepticism regarding the effectiveness of this investigation, because "this team is not going to be able to get into Jamba or into areas under UNITA control, so they are not going to be conducting a real investigation."

Whatever may be, Angola's chief diplomat repeated the government's principal position, namely: "We have no objection. We have said so. Let them come and investigate. The country is open."

In this regard, he spoke of the recent trip to Angola by an official of Amnesty International, possibly triggered by the deaths of Tito Chingunji and Wilson Santos. He visited several parts of the country. Surprisingly, he said, as the official was leaving Angola, he indicated that there were signs of abuses on the part of the government that should be investigated.

In conclusion, Pedro Van Dunem threw out the challenge: "Then let all the commissions of inquiry come. We are acting in good faith and are absolutely convinced that they will have an opportunity to see what is happening in our country."

* Petroleum Cooperation With Portugal Increases

* Petrogal's Presence

92AF0868A Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS
in Portuguese 12 May 92 p 21

[Dispatch from Luanda by Fernando de Sousa]

[Text] Angola's economic relations with Portugal are largely based on petroleum. Portugal is now importing 20,000 barrels of Angolan crude per day under a contract between Petrogal [Portugal Petroleum Company] and Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company], and this helps cover Portugal's exports to Angola.

This kind of relationship lends great distinction to Petrogal's presence in Angola, a presence based largely on the agreements with Sonangol.

Petrogal is participating in the exploration for oil along the Angolan coast and studying the possibility of expanding this activity.

In addition to the agreements under which Angolan crude is purchased by Portugal, Petrogal and Sonangol also have signed contracts to formulate, blend, and market lubricants. Under these, all oils sold in Angola under the "Ngol" brand incorporate technology from the Portuguese firm.

Another contract calls for Petrogal to provide technical training to Sonangol personnel.

The distribution of fuels and lubricants in Angola is now one of the principal areas of Petrogal's activities. Distribution is being done by joint company, Sonangalp [expansion not given], which Petrogal set up with Sonangol. Petrogal has a 49 percent interest in this company, and this position will be balanced by the formation of another company in Portugal, in which Sonangol will be the one with a 49 percent interest. Luanda already has one gasoline station that operates under the logo of the two companies, which is a source of

obvious pride for Petrogal employees. Another station is being built, and studies on several more, to be built at various locations in Angola, are underway.

Petrogal also holds almost all the capital of Agran [expansion not given], an agrochemical manufacturer that has a production plant near Luanda.

Because of all this, the presence at the same international meeting in Luanda of Cardoso e Cunha, a European commissioner who is a Portuguese citizen, and Mira Amaral, a cabinet minister from Portugal, certainly served to send a significant message to Angola.

At a time when Angola is democratizing its regime and moving toward a market economy, the holding of a European Commission meeting in Luanda about a resource as crucial as petroleum cannot fail to send positive signals, which Cardoso e Cunha described as a message of "confidence and hope to the Angolans" and "Angola's reencounter with an international role."

In this area, the European Commission will benefit from some moderating action by Angola in its relations with OPEC. Although not a member of this organization, Angola has taken part in some of its discussions on the limitation of petroleum production.

To Portugal, the fact that such a meeting is being held while it holds the EC presidency constitutes an important ramification of its role as mediator in arriving at the Estoril Accords in the Angolan peace process.

During a meeting with Portuguese journalists, Mira Amaral also noted this significance, although he added that this meeting had only limited effects on an essentially bilateral plane because many of the bases for an intensification of the Luso-Angolan relationship had already been laid during a visit he made to Angola last year.

* Joint Venture

92AF0868B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 13 May 92 p 6

[Text] The process of establishing Sonangal [expansion unknown], the Angolan-Portuguese joint venture between the oil companies Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company] and Petrogal [Portugal Petroleum Company] is in the study phase, according to recent disclosures by Jose Vasconcelos, the domestic firm's assistant director general for distribution.

The two fuel and lubricants points of sale in Luanda, one already operating and the other under construction, are the result of an agreement reached between Sonangol and its Portuguese counterpart.

The latter, unprecedented in the Angolan capital city, will be a mega-gasoline station that will include a so-called convenience store, similar to the service areas operated by Galp, a Petrogal subsidiary, on Portuguese highways.

The Angolan party holds a 51 percent interest in Sonangal, while the remaining 49 percent of the capital belongs to the Portuguese firm.

Jose Vasconcelos, who did not confirm Sonangol's participation in the privatization of Petrogal, which is being rumored in Lisbon, did say that several foreign oil companies—whom he did not name—are interested in establishing themselves in the Angolan market to distribute fuels and lubricants.

However, the process of drafting regulations under which these companies would operate is still under way.

Furthermore, Portugal's Minister of Industry and Energy, Mira de Amaral, in statements made recently to JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Luanda, expressed satisfaction with the results of the dealings between Petrogal and Sonangol and said that within the context of the compensation mechanisms agreed on by the companies from the two countries, imports of Angolan petroleum have now reached 20,000 barrels per day, double the initial level of 10,000 barrels per day, and account for 10 percent of total Portuguese oil imports.

"We can report that Sonangol may, on the basis of the reciprocal agreement we signed, soon acquire capital in a Portuguese fuels distribution company and also set up a joint venture in Lisbon in this area," Mira Amaral said.

* Foreign Investment Figures, Targets Mentioned

92AF0867E Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 13 May 92 p 6

[Article by Messias Constantino: "Foreigners: \$400 Million To Invest"]

[Text] Law No. 13 of 16 July 1988 concerning foreign investment spells out, within the scope of what was then the Economic and Financial Reorganization Plan, the conditions under which foreign persons, either individually or collectively, can invest in Angola, whether within the framework of a mixed company (with a majority participation by the state), a joint venture with an Angolan private partner, or as a private company without a partner.

It is within this context that the industrial sector recorded nearly 215 declarations of intent of foreign investment, predominantly of Portuguese origin, from the beginnings of 1990 to the end of March of the same year. Of these, nearly 132 are directly linked to the industrial sector, and the rest are designated for various other sectors.

Figures from Mind [Ministry of Development] reveal that the volume of foreign investment amounts to more than 21 billion new kwanzas and more than \$390 million.

The branches of activity in which foreign investors are interested are the food industry, with 25 declarations of intent; light industry, with 55; heavy industry, with 41; and others, such as the service industry, with 94.

The provinces most preferred by investors are Luanda, with 52 declarations of intent; Benguela, with 20; Cabinda, Huambo, and Huila, with three each; Bengo, Malanje, and Namibe, with two each; and Kwanza-Sul and Uije, each with just one declaration of intent.

* Industrial Restructuring Progress Reported

92AF0867D Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 13 May 92 p 6

[Unattributed article: "Industry: Rehabilitation To Cost More Than \$600 Million"]

[Text] The business-restructuring process is playing a part in the mid- and long-term adjustment policy that aims, among other objectives, to put an end to the situation in which the General State Budget is absorbing the savings of the state business sector.

The main courses of action are part of a structural adjustment aimed at reducing the weight of the state business sector on the economy, taking advantage of all the nation's productive capabilities and all the economic agents within the framework of a policy of alliances, increasing the efficiency of business management, which is essentially based on broadening competition and decreasing budgetary expenditures, and obtaining additional revenues for the state.

"The result will be maximized if it leads to a broad process that makes it possible to create conditions favorable to the simultaneous realization of the objectives, specifically those of competition and improvement in market operation," economist Manuel Duque, the director of GARE [Enterprise Restructuring Bureau], asserted. According to him, privatization should not be considered an end in itself, but rather one of the means at the state's disposal to promote a more appropriate division of work between state-run and private sectors, with the goal of improving the performance of the state itself and that of the companies. In this way, privatization would increase the overall efficiency of the economy.

In the specific case of the industrial sector, and according to Kiala Gabriel, the director of technological development at Mind [Ministry of Development], this sector has completed the first three stages of the process, namely, surveying the business fabric, classifying businesses into small, medium-sized and large categories, and spelling out the sector's restructuring strategy.

Thus, in the light of what was then a "pilot program" conceived in August 1990 to initiate the process, actions

were undertaken to set up bidding contests to totally or partially transfer ownership of some companies, or even turn some companies over to an operational or managerial administration. Eight companies were put on the bidding block between October 1990 and February 1991.

Nevertheless, the director of D.T. [Technological Development]-Mind disclosed that due to the lack of complementary legislation during that period, the process experienced a certain "softening" that, notwithstanding the program's pragmatic character, did not contemplate aspects that were considered to be "basic," such as the elaboration of diagnostic studies and inheritance evaluation studies.

The approval of complementary legislation by the Council of Ministers in February 1991 made it possible to apply a uniform methodology applicable as a function of the size, degree of technological complexity, and volume of investments necessary to rehabilitate the machinery of the industrial sector, which amounts to \$643,154,482, whose production will (still) be dependent on stabilizing the supply of water, electricity, and other factors that must work together to pull the sector out of its lethargy.

On the other hand, said the authoritative voice of Kiala Gabriel, passage of the complementary legislation also made it possible for the Ministry of Finance, through GARE, to launch what is considered as "the Group of 60," the first companies that were or are included in the restructuring process under the aegis of a "pilot program." "There were 14 companies in that program in the industrial sector, even though the number kept growing," explained the national director of technological development.

Furthermore, nearly 116 companies appear in the restructuring plan for the sector, companies to which the Mind board of directors is trying to give, on a priority basis, the greatest attention in the following area.

The negotiating committees for 11 of the companies or production units have been named by the Ministry of Finance. Some are farther along than others, for reasons not specified by Kiala Gabriel, who added that with these 11 committees, nearly 34 production units, will be partially or totally privatized.

He revealed, however, that 26 privatization transactions are subject to modification as a function of revenues or expenditures and are currently under analysis at the Ministry of Finance for the naming of their respective negotiating committees. In addition, 12 of them are at various levels in Mind and will shortly be sent to the Ministry of Finance. The remaining applications are being prepared in the companies or in the respective provinces.

*** Puna's Letter Planning Assassinations Published**

92AF0866A Lishon O INDEPENDENTE in Portuguese
15 May 92 p 11

[Text] A detailed plan for the execution of Tito Chingunji, Wilson dos Santos, and their families, by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], is described in a letter written by Miguel N'zau Puna to Jonas Savimbi. This letter, to which O INDEPENDENTE had access, states precisely this:

"Older brother, on that problem, our strategy is the following: It involves the escape of a group comprised of men, women, and children. A search is launched, dispersing groups in every direction with alerts in various positions. A trusted group will follow the route taken by the fugitives. Three days later, some of the fugitives will encounter a great obstacle that they have to crossed. In the middle of this obstacle they are attacked, and only one of the group succeeds in returning to the edge of the obstacle, without knowing the fate of the others. His trail is followed, and he is captured by the search team. He relates the entire episode, including how he was tempted into leaving with the fugitives."

In the same letter, the former UNITA interior minister asks the movement's leader to send him a reply as to whether or not he is in agreement with the plan. "Older brother, we would like to launch the operation Thursday or Friday, awaiting your approval, which would be, if you agree, to tell me that you concur with our trip to 'New Aurora' or that you do not concur."

The rest of the letter relates events occurring at that time in Jamba. Events of no importance. As an example, one passage states: "There was an argument here between Tita and her sister Bela for reasons we are trying to understand. The day after the fight, Tita was taken to Central Hospital, having lost consciousness...."

This letter is mentioned in the conclusions of the report by the UNITA commission investigating the death of Tito and Wilson, as proof positive of the moral responsibility for the assassination of those two members of the Black Cockeref's movement.

The commission's document, to which O INDEPENDENTE had access, begins with an account of Tito's and Wilson's situation within the movement after their arrival in Jamba from overseas, where they held diplomatic posts.

Thus, according to the same, "Tito and Wilson were arrested by UNITA after having been discovered committing acts of high treason—including attempting to isolate Savimbi through a defamation process carried out overseas—and attempting to poison the UNITA leader in Jamba."

A complete investigation of these alleged acts was conducted in one week by a commission presided over by Miguel N'zau Puna, then General Secretary of the movement, in February 1989. Despite there being clear

instructions to reintegrate those two members, N'zau Puna made at least one attempt to kill them before actually doing so.

In March 1990, he secretly transferred them to the Mavinga command post during the great battle of the war between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA. With that, Puna tried to arrange a justification for Tito and Wilson's disappearance. That is, death as a consequence of the war.

Plan of Attack

According to the conclusions of the commission's investigation, Savimbi became aware of the intentions of his number two and reined him in.

In September 1991, the UNITA leadership gave specific instructions that the two men be taken to Luanda. The idea was to integrate them into the party machinery in order for them then to be sent to the regions where they would have the most electoral influence.

Miguel N'zau Puna, in his capacity as minister of the interior and public order, called together the director of the intelligence services, the director of the judicial police, the director of control, and the commander of the UNITA National Defense Police, all of them dependents of Puna, for a meeting in Jamba. That was 10 November of last year. Still according to the conclusions of the report, Puna outlined a plan at that meeting for the execution of Tito, Wilson, and their families, as well as the guards living with them.

One hour after the meeting, the intelligence services director transmitted the orders to the chief of prison services, who, with two of his men, was to carry out the execution according to Puna's strategy.

These officials reconnoitered the area where the execution was to take place, next to the Cuando River. At the same time, Puna and the people of Jamba were celebrating the 16th anniversary of the independence of Angola.

Tito, Wilson, and Their Families Shot

On 12 November, Tito and Wilson were separated from their families, who had left with them under guard. Later they were shot, and their bodies were thrown into the river at the place previously agreed upon.

The next day, their families met the same fate.

Still on 12 November, Miguel N'zau Puna sent a message to all border posts, alerting them to an escape on the night of 11 and 12 November by a group of 11 men, women, and children hostile to the movement. In the message, the interior minister said that capture of the fugitives was essential and that he should be informed of all developments.

According to the report's conclusions, "it was clearly demonstrated to the commission that this message was the key to the story told by Puna to explain the deaths."

The existence of this message, which does not mention the names of Tito and Wilson, only came to the knowledge of the UNITA leadership during the meeting of the Political Committee from 4 to 8 December in Luanda. Because the leaders of the movement had not been aware of the implications of the message, they gave no particular importance to the event and satisfied themselves with Puna's explanations.

According to the conclusions of the investigation, only at the beginning of January 1992 did the leadership begin to question the interior minister's behavior. A series of reports coming from Jamba raised some doubts as to Puna's conduct, as the absolute lord in that territory. It was recalled that Savimbi was in Luanda at the time.

The following month, on 10 February, a letter to Savimbi from Miguel N'zau Puna arrived at the president's office. Despite it being undated, the letter was assumed to have been written between 9 and 13 November. It was the same one in which the former interior minister requested the leader's authorization for the execution of Tito and Wilson.

The commission presented two reasons for arriving at this conclusion, with respect to the dates. First, the letter mentions the arrival of a UN general in Jamba on 13 November. Second, Puna expresses his hope that Savimbi's visit to Morocco, which ended the 9th of that month, had been successful.

Puna Was Forced

Still according to the commission, Puna never received a reply from the UNITA leader to his letter. In other words, he had no orders to act.

Yesterday, in an interview with the Voice of America, the former interior minister for the Black Cockerel's movement confirmed that the letter was written by him. But he defended himself: He said that he had been forced to write it.

*** Housing Secretary Comments on Sector**

92AF0866C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 19 May 92 p 6

[Text] The Angolan Government has just authorized domestic and foreign individuals and groups to complete unfinished buildings throughout the country, through consortiums either between private investors or between private investors and the Government, represented by the Secretary of State for Housing. JORNAL DE ANGOLA learned from a reliable source.

Secretary of State for Housing Victoriano Ferreira Nicolau, who made these statements based on an executive decree signed jointly by him and Finance Minister Mario Alcantara Monteiro last 17 March, said that this measure

was made necessary by the "government's unwillingness and even inability to provide its own resources for overcoming the tremendous housing shortage that the country is still experiencing."

He pointed out, on that subject, that authorization should be solicited by the interested parties from the Secretary of State for Housing. Interested parties should attach a proposal to their request.

According to the draft of the decree, to which JORNAL DE ANGOLA had access, the government, through the Secretary of State for Housing, will provide its quota of capital participation in the consortium's program through land, existing projects, and already-completed construction, all properly valued.

"The aforementioned land, projects, and works, in addition to constituting a means for the government to participate in the consortium's social capital, will also be transferred to private investors," the document states.

The investing consortiums will be required to present proposals for the land projects, which among other aspects, should detail the elements employed in the investment (production costs) through a technical-economic and financial feasibility study.

In the housing minister's view, this document is important because it allows the investment to be made at the cost of the contractor and allows foreign agents to associate with citizens at all phases of the plan for finishing the buildings.

"It is a project requiring rapid decisions, and we are convinced that as soon as this document is published (in the national press), economic agents will solicit authorization to complete many unfinished buildings in the country," Victoriano Ferreira Nicolau said hopefully, also clarifying the level of exclusiveness of the State in promoting housing development.

From this point of view, the administrator added, "we cannot now envision the government having a regulatory role in making private domestic and foreign business entities participate, with a view to completing the unfinished buildings and thus offering a greater quantity of housing, offices, and commercial facilities. We thus now want the agents to be able to solicit recuperation of these properties, from Cabinda to Cunene," he added.

Victoriano Ferreira Nicolau disclosed in this context that the Angolan construction company Bricomil and the Portuguese firm Ribeiros are going to finish a building located at Coqueiros, while the French firm NOLRP-France International has retained the two towers on Comandante Gika Street. Sonangol [National Angolan Fuel Company] and a Danish firm whose name was not disclosed will complete the building where Esta [Hotel Management, Inc.] is located as well as another in the vicinity of the Luanda Petroleum Club.

The Secretary of State for Housing says that his organization has letters from domestic and international companies requesting authorization to proceed with the process. He also revealed that South Africa, Portugal, the United States, France, and the Nordic countries are among the many foreign countries interested in investing in the housing sector.

Also citing legislation on the topic, the government, through the Ministry of Finance, will grant investors in the projects a special exchange rate facility with a view to carrying out the works that, by their nature, imply operations in foreign currencies and will also grant them license to proceed with the sale of the completed buildings, complying with the respective contract/promise of purchase and sale.

The Secretary of State for Housing used the occasion to deny information that the government will increase rents on buildings occupied by domestic citizens.

"The housing rent policy is completely defined. There is no longer anything to do in the framework of the current National Plan regulating in this area. That means that rents were only increased for nonresidents (embassies and foreign companies) and economic agents in the areas of trade, industry, etc. For residents, we do not think that housing rents will change this year. At this time, we think that they correspond to the level of the salary scales.

The National Commission for the Sale of Housing Property of the State [CNVPHE] has now collected close to 2 billion new kwanzas in Luanda as a result of the sale of 200 houses through immediate payment and 300 through short-term settlement. Two hundred buildings remain to be sold, already valued, whose revenues are estimated at 350.049 million new kwanzas.

Secretary of State for Housing Victoriano Ferreira Nicolau, who gave the information to JORNAL DE ANGOLA, recognized that the process is not going "very well" because of some misunderstandings in the informal sector of the economy, material difficulties, and the low operating capability of the provincial committees, particularly those in Kwanza-Norte, Kuando Kubango, Cunene, Bie, and Lundas Norte and Sul.

The process of selling the government's housing patrimony began 7 October 1991, based on Law 19/91—the Law for the Sale of the Government's Housing Patrimony.

In an extensive interview granted to this newspaper, which will be published in one of its editions, Victoriano Ferreira Nicolau also revealed first-hand the transformation of the CNVPHE to a mixed enterprise.

The proposal, which awaits higher approval, aims at managing the building stock, particularly leasing promotion, organization of the entire purchase and sale process, construction, and the preservation of buildings. "It will be a mixed enterprise in which the State will participate together with other economic agents," he said.

* Socioeconomic Plight of Kwanza Norte Viewed

92AF0867B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 19 May 92 p 3

[Article by Isidoro Natalicio: "Municipalities in Crisis Due to Lack of Links"]

[Text] The appropriate organizations of the government of Kwanza-Norte must, in the shortest time possible, find speedy solutions to improve, insofar as is possible, the precarious standards of living of the people located in the municipalities situated in the northern part of the province, namely Banga, Bolongongo, and Kikulungo.

The situation is, in fact, critical, if one is to judge simply by the strangled state in which some sectors find themselves, such as commerce, health, education, energy, water, entertainment, etc. For example, the slump in commerce is due to the inefficiency of the stated business policy, as well as to its structural organization, which, as one of its various consequences, has given rise to the existence of a business class that is purely and simply incompetent both organizationally and financially.

And then, rural commerce has not had any outlet. Furthermore, articles for which there is enormous demand, such as dried fish, lamp oil, clothing, agricultural instruments, instruments for various kinds of light work, and, obviously, the five products classified as "basics," are rarely seen on store shelves, which, in most cases, just have flies and "o cheiro amor." The business of running a bar does not exist either, much less adhere to bank credits to support its transactions.

The situation became more dramatic when it was verified that several economic agents who are licensed and supported technically and materially to serve such areas were turning to other areas.

In the midst of all this, inflation is a fact of life, principally in the Nhoca Supermarket, the only one now operating in Kikulungo.

The crisis that is now reigning in commerce is reflected negatively in the promotion of agriculture, if one is to judge by the tons of coffee now in the peasants' possession because of the lack of opportunities to market it. In order to turn the "pyramid" upside down, producers are substituting coffee for other crops that generate immediate financial returns, particularly manioc.

In another area, dozens of children, and more than that, are dying each day because of poor medical and health assistance and inadequate protection by vaccination against sleeping-sickness, tuberculosis, measles, acute diarrhetic diseases, coughs, etc.

Also contributing to the worrisome situation are the gross shortages of medicines, appropriate technical means, and qualified personnel. The health centers find themselves in a pathetic state, because UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] took it upon itself to destroy them during the war. However, it is important to stress the commitment of the Catholic Church in Kikulungo, which tends to lessen the people's suffering.

The main problems of the education and teaching sectors are linked to the nonexistence of the second and third levels in Bolongongo and Banga and the poor state of the schools.

Road Repair

But when all is said and done, what is the leading cause of such a vexing situation in Kikulungo, Banga, and Bolongongo? It is simply that the roads are practically impassable at the present time. Such a situation is the reason for the low flow of highway traffic and communications with those areas. There is no movement of people and goods, and for that reason these municipalities are thus destined to temporary abandonment.

The lamentable state of the roads is due to the lack of repair work over the last few years because of the fratricidal war that, up until nearly one year ago, devastated the country. Out of the vast array of consequences caused by the war, one stands out: the destruction of some machinery essential for repairing highways that belonged to the now-defunct provincial engineering company.

In the viewpoint of cadres assigned to the Ministry of Public Works (which has already been apprised of the facts by Assistant Minister Gilberto Mamede, who visited the province earlier), it is necessary to employ an engineering brigade, with suitable equipment for excavating, grading, leveling, draining, and transporting, to repair the highways.

Pacavira Committed

The governor of the Province of Kwanza-Norte, Manuel Pedro Pacavira, said a few days ago in Bolongongo that some of the region's businessmen may have their licenses suspended due to the not-very-transparent business posture that they are adopting. As an alternative, and one that is being enthusiastically accepted by the people, it will be possible to choose others, possibly coming from other regions of the country, mainly Luanda.

The governor of the province announced on this occasion in Samba-Caju that there is already a great deal of merchandise in the province that has been appraised at 67 million new kwanzas, which will be earmarked for the purchase of coffee now in storage. He further announced that provisionally they will sell coffee to retailers at 124 new kwanzas per kilogram and to wholesale agents at 134 new kwanzas per kilogram.

Pedro Pacavira revealed that some social infrastructures that were destroyed in the war will benefit from reconstruction work to be undertaken by the Portuguese company Teixeira Duarte S.A., which, to that end, has already begun preliminary work in Ambaca. On the list of priorities are hospital, administrative, and public registry facilities, among others.

And finally, the governor guaranteed improvements in medical assistance to the people with the recent acquisition of a large batch of medicine and similar items, valued at 33 million new kwanzas.

Namibia

Iranian Vice President, Delegation Arrive

NC1606064892 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] First Vice President Hasan Ebrahim Habibi and his accompanying delegation arrived in Windhoek last night at the official invitation of the Namibian prime minister, who welcomed them. The Namibian prime minister later hosted a banquet in their honor, at which he referred to the long history of extremely warm relations between the two countries, saying: Before Namibia became independent, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] had a diplomatic representation in Iran. This was then upgraded to an embassy. SWAPO's leader Sam Nujoma has visited Iran many times. We are proud that, with the exchange of diplomatic delegations, our ties have been strengthened more than ever before.

In response, Habibi expressed his joy to be visiting Namibia, saying: We have special respect and appreciation for the people of Africa, and Iranian leaders and officials have closely followed Africa's struggles against colonialism. Habibi expressed the hope that the African countries, especially the Frontline States, will achieve their goals. During his stay in Namibia, Habibi will discuss bilateral relations and other issues of mutual interest.

Zimbabwe

Government To Continue Economic Reform Program

MB1606101292 Johannesburg SABA in English 2326 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Harare June 15 SABA—Zimbabwean senior Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Bernard Chidzero, on Monday [15 June] said the government would not abandon its economic reform programme despite the hardship it was causing. ZIANA news agency reported.

The failure of the economic reforms would be the failure of the country, and the government would implement

them step by step to stimulate investment and create jobs, Mr Chidzero told a one-day seminar in Harare.

"We have experienced temporary problems mainly because of the drought, but are committed to make sure that the programme is implemented successfully," Mr Chidzero said.

The minister said the drought would slow down the implementation of the economic reform programme.

It would be necessary for the government to revise the estimated total cost of the programme, which was originally put at U.S.16-billion, he said.

Mr Chidzero said the government would spend more than ZD(Zimbabwe Dollars)3-billion on food imports and providing water facilities to drought-stricken parts of the country.

"There will have to be some adjustments made to the economic reform programme, though not so drastic. But we are determined to push through ESAP [economic structural adjustment program]," Mr Chidzero said.

Burkina Faso

Compaore Issues Decree To Dissolve Government

AB1606130592 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion
Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT
15 Jun 92

[Decree issued by President Blaise Compaore in Ouagadougou on 15 June]

[Text] The president of Burkina Faso and head of government, in view of the Constitution; in view of Ordinance 92018/PRES of 25 March 1992 on the Electoral Code and its amendments; in view of Decree 92031/PRES of 26 February 1992 on the reshuffling of the Government of Burkina Faso; in view of Decree 92040/PRES of 26 February 1992 on the appointment of the secretary general of the government and the Cabinet; in view of Decree 92156/PRES of 13 June 1992 on the convening of deputies to a meeting of the People's Deputies' Assembly, decrees:

Article 1: The Government of Burkina Faso is dissolved as of 15 June 1992.

Article 2: Secretaries general of ministries are charged with running the day-to-day affairs of the ministries.

Article 3: The present decree will be published in the official journal of Burkina Faso.

Ouagadougou, 15 June 1992

[Signed] Blaise Compaore

Ghana

Rawlings Receives Sudanese Official, Message

AB1606125092 Accra Ghana Broadcasting
Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT
15 Jun 92

[Excerpts] The chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, has held talks with the Sudanese vice minister of foreign affairs, Mr. 'Uthman Yassine at the Castle, Osu. Our correspondent, Teye-Kitcher, has the story:

[Teye-Kitcher] The Sudanese vice minister was also the bearer of a special message from the Sudanese head of state, General 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir, to Chairman Rawlings. Discussions between Chairman Rawlings and Mr. 'Uthman Yassine covered the promotion of bilateral and multilateral relations between Ghana and Sudan. When he met newsmen after his discussions with Chairman Rawlings, Mr. Yassine said the Sudanese Government is keen on settling the conflict with the people of southern Sudan who have been locked in war with the government. He said however that the Sudanese Government will not favor a disintegration of the country.

Mr. Yassine referred to the Abuja round of talks between representatives of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army, the other factions, and the government, and said the outcome of the talks offers some hope for a solution to the conflict. It is his hope that the meeting would be reconvened soon to help find a peaceful solution to the conflict. He disagreed that the shari'ah is the main issue of dispute between the Sudanese Government and the southern Sudanese people who are predominantly Christians. [passage omitted]

Mr. Yassine said southern Sudan is entirely exempted from the shari'ah law, which applies only in the northern Sudan dominated by Muslims.

Ivory Coast

Deputies Brief Press on Meeting With President

AB1506143092 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 12 Jun 92 p 5

[Text] "Rest assured; we were received by the president of the Republic who listened to us for a long time, for more than three hours. He showed much understanding. We say that it is up to him to make the appropriate decision after our meeting with him..."

This sums up the substance of the news conference held at Sofitel Hotel yesterday afternoon by the interparliamentary committee which returned from Paris on 5 June, where it met with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny. It pleaded with him for the release of those jailed following the 18 February events. The news conference was given jointly by Deputies Jean-Honore Sea and Clement Nabo Boueka of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast [PDCI] and by Charles Amon N'cho, Georges Gougnan and Jean Anon Atse of the Ivorian Popular Front [FPI].

It was Jean-Honore Sea, in his capacity as chairman of the interparliamentary committee, who presented a thorough report on their mission. It was noted from the report that those "missionary" deputies conveyed to the president the wish of all Ivorians for the release of our brothers and sisters who were detained after the 18 February events.

"...Yours sons and daughters who are in jail," Mr. Sea said, "accept their release. It is not as if that, toward the end of your life, you will do what you have not done in 40 years (...) You have always called for forgiveness and have had the opportunity to forgive some people who made attempts on your life and who even threatened state security."

The FPI delegates through Charles Amon N'cho, still according to the interparliamentary committee spokesman, Jean-Honore Sea, explained to the head of state that they did not go to Paris "either on behalf of the FPI or on Laurent Gbagbo's behalf." They said they rather took on the responsibility of joining the PDCI

deputies to go and negotiate the release of their brothers, sisters, and friends who had been arrested, as the whole of the Ivory Coast is awaiting that decision from the president of the Republic. They added that the social tension, which is very high despite an apparently peaceful climate, can be reduced only at this cost before concluding: "Intransigence is unproductive in politics."

For his part, the president is said to have congratulated the deputies for their courage and initiative. Furthermore, he reportedly rejoiced at seeing deputies of various political leanings together before telling them: "The head of state will pass away, but Ivory Coast will remain forever. It is therefore in Ivorians' interest to understand each other." He is also reported to have expressed embarrassment over what was being written in the newspapers, while efforts were being made to find a solution to the crisis. However, the president reportedly promised not to take that into account but to make the right decision at the right time for the restoration of peace in Ivory Coast.

In the meantime, he reportedly called for justice to prevail in accordance with some people's wishes. "In any event," the president reportedly said, "a trial is under way. Our brothers are right to trust in the law...they have agreed to appeal against a verdict (...) let us hope that they will be acquitted on 16 June."

In conclusion, it is simply regrettable that the news conference took place in a heated atmosphere created by FPI activists who intentionally went there to settle scores with their deputies who stated clearly, nevertheless: "We are not afraid of expulsion from the FPI as long as it results from a noble cause."

PDCI Said Preparing Welcome for President

AB1606124592 Abidjan LA VOIE in French No. 219
15 Jun 92 p 11

[Article by Maurice Louhourignon: "Houphouet Back Home Shortly! Democratic Party of Ivory Coast Prepares Triumphant Welcome"]

[Excerpts] After a prolonged absence of more than four months from his country, President Houphouet-Boigny has finally decided to return home but not just in any old way. After failing to bow out of power honorably, his party now wants to welcome him back home triumphantly. (A bird in the hand is better than two...) Democratic Party of Ivory Coast [PDCI] activists want to move heaven and earth to arrange a welcome similar to that given to our African soccer champions, the Elephants, and they have the means to do so. The date 17 June has been advanced as the day on which the president would return and preparations are already under way. [passage omitted]

According to reliable sources, transport unions have been summoned to participate in conveying people from the interior to Abidjan to take part in the stage-managed

rousing welcome but Abidjan is reportedly reserved and unconcerned about Houphouet-Boigny's return. [passage omitted]

Liberia

ECOMOG, NPFL Meet; Taylor Vows Cooperation

AB1506141592 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] The West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] have been meeting in Gbarnga, Bong County, on the process of encampment and disarmament. An ECOMOG release says during their meeting on Saturday [13 June], the NPFL leader, Mr. Charles Taylor, repledged his firm commitment to facilitating the work of ECOMOG. The release said Mr. Taylor further promised to reopen the Robertsfield International Airport between about two weeks to three weeks.

For his part, the field commander, Major General Ishaya Bakut, expressed the commitment of ECOMOG to a (?lasting) solution of the Liberian conflict. He urged the NPFL leader to go by his renewed pledge of commitment and cooperation. He said that this meeting was held at the request of Mr. Taylor [words indistinct] and by top ECOMOG officers including the contingent commanders of Senegal, Mali, The Gambia, and Ghana.

In a related development, ECOMOG says it has completed the withdrawal of the Senegalese contingent of the force from Lofa, where they were deployed for the implementation of the encampment and disarmament process. Gen. Bakut said the withdrawal of the soldiers was in line with military tactics following the [words indistinct] in Vahun, Lofa County, recently by fighters of NPFL in which three of their soldiers were wounded and six of them killed.

Nigeria

Strasser Calls For Increased Bilateral Ties

AB1606120092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 0600 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] The new Sierra Leonean leader, Captain Valentine Strasser, has called for increased private sector participation from Nigeria in his country. Capt. Strasser also called for the revitalization of the joint commission between Nigeria and Sierra Leone. The Sierra Leonean leader made the call in Abuja while briefing President Ibrahim Babangida at the State House during his one-day working visit to Nigeria. He briefed President Babangida on events in his country since he took over last April and sought Nigeria's assistance in the area of reconstruction and rehabilitation. He expressed the hope

that Nigeria and Sierra Leone would continue to work together and requested the restoration of air links between the two countries.

Responding, President Babangida assured Sierra Leone of Nigeria's solidarity, saying that relations between the two countries transcended leaders.

A report says that Capt. Strasser who arrived yesterday went on a guided tour of Abuja. [sentence as heard] Capt. Strasser has since returned back home.

Sierra Leone

Rebel Attacks Continue in Southeastern Region

AB1506204892 London BBC World Service
in English 1515 GMT 15 Jun 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In spite of the recent spate of surrenders by Sierra Leonean rebels in the southeast, rebels attacks show no sign of dying down. The most recent rebel threats surfaced in Pujehun District, and the Army has again gone on the offensive, as Foday Fofana reports from Kenema:

[Begin recording] The Sierra Leone Military High Command in the southeastern region yesterday dispatched troops and war materials to the district headquarters town of Pujehun in the Southern Province after rebels of Corporal Foday Sankoh attacked a town 11 miles away. Reliable sources say the rebels, who carried out a hit and run attack, were in search of food. In their attack, the sources said, they may have killed a lot of civilians. The rebels have been pushed back, the Sierra Leone authorities assured me. There was hectic military activity here yesterday and the streets of Kenema are clean of soldiers. [sentence as heard]

Meanwhile, some junior soldiers are silently grumbling that they still get the old salary of 3,500 leones, and no bag of rice. They also complained that veteran soldiers are now mostly in the company of new ministers, while they are most needed in the war front. It will be very wise, most of them say, for the NPRC [National Provisional Ruling Council] government to address this problem immediately, in spite of the many other problems the government of Captain Strasser has. [end recording]

Togo

Chairman of Opposition Party Kidnapped

AB1506153492 Lome Radio Lome in French
1230 GMT 15 June 92

[Communique issued by the Office of the Prime Minister in Lome on 15 June]

[Text] On 14 June at about 1945, the prime minister was informed of the kidnapping of Mba Kabassema,

chairman of the Togolese Democratic Party, PDT, in front of his Lome residence located in the Tokoin Adeyi district. Kabassema is reported to have been beaten before being abducted.

The prime minister telephoned the residence of the victim and spoke to his wife, who confirmed the news and disclosed that the kidnapping was carried out by a soldier who had visited the house in uniform a few days earlier, claiming that he was looking for his sister residing in the district. Investigations, initiated since yesterday evening, have failed to establish Mba Kabassema's whereabouts. The prime minister wishes to note that yesterday Mba Kabassema, who is also a member of the executive bureau of the Togolese Human Rights League [LTDH], was a member of the delegation of the LTDH executive body, which called on him as part of its activities.

This extremely grave act is undoubtedly consistent with the strategy aimed at liquidating members of the opposition and seems to be the work of those who have already committed similar acts, particularly bomb attacks and ambushes nationwide, which seem to enjoy some protection which remains to be elucidated. Consequently, the prime minister has informed the head of state that he is postponing the meeting which was to have taken place between the government and him today, Monday 15 June 1992, to enable the head of government to coordinate the investigations aimed at finding Mba Kabassema.

Denial of Incident

AB1506220092 Lome Radio Lome in French
1900 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] The presidency of the Republic sent us a communique this afternoon which says that Mr. Kabassema had never been kidnapped. Here is Detey Adjavon with that communique:

[Adjavon] This morning a consultative meeting between the president of the Republic and the government, headed by the prime minister, was scheduled to take place at 0800 at the presidential palace. Shortly before the meeting began, the prime minister telephoned the head of state to ask him to postpone the meeting because of the kidnapping of Mr. Mba Kabassema, chairman of the Togolese Democratic Party, PDT, and executive board member of Mr. Joseph Kokou Koffigoh's Togolese Human Rights League.

Considering the seriousness of the situation, the president of the Republic told the prime minister to go ahead with the meeting so that this issue, which falls squarely in line with the security problem, and was on the meeting's agenda, could be discussed. The prime minister, however, objected, saying that his morale was low because an

executive member of his league was involved. He added that it was necessary to postpone the meeting.

The head of state, who was informed about the incident only this morning by the chief of staff of the Togolese Armed Forces, immediately ordered the commander of the gendarmeries and the inspector general of police to investigate the matter.

At about 1000 an officer came to brief the head of state about an incident which occurred on 14 June between one of his soldiers and Mr. Mba Kabassema. After listening to that soldier and Mrs. Kabassema in the presence of the minister of territorial administration and security, the commander of the National Gendarmerie, and the inspector general of police, it clearly appears that Mr. Kabassema had never been kidnapped.

It seems that, based on a request by Mrs. Kabassema, the soldier went to Mr. Kabassema's house to meet him on 14 June at about 1900 after trying in vain twice on 12 and 13 June. It was during this first meeting that an altercation occurred in front of the house between that soldier and the guard who thought he was a thief. Mr. Kabassema did not witness the scuffle, but when he arrived on the scene he got involved. Neighbors intervened and led Mr. Kabassema to a neighboring house. Right now, according to his wife, Mr. Kabassema is safe and alive and living with some friends.

It is very regrettable that some political leaders prefer to exaggerate rumors, creating panic and fear among the people, instead of calmly dealing with them and ascertaining the truth. This unhealthy climate, which the country has not experienced for 24 and 1/2 years, is being perpetuated, and it is very unfortunate that the sole purpose is to win votes.

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DATE FILMED

17 June 1992

